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Anglické překladové protějšky českých adverbii *snad* a *možná*

English translation equivalents of *snad* and *možná*

BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

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Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně a že jsem uvedl všechny použité prameny a literaturu.

V Praze dne 11. srpna 2014

(I declare that the following thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned.

Prague, 11 August 2014)

ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the Czech adverbs *snad* and *možná* and their English translation counterparts in order to arrive at a set of possible translation counterparts—a translation paradigm—and to look closely into their realizations, syntactic roles, meaning and distribution frequencies. The analysis progresses from classifying correspondences into types and uncovering linguistic data, to attempting to identify the logic behind translators' choices. The most numerous group of counterparts is single-word adverbs, such as *perhaps* and *maybe*. Various other counterparts are attested: modal auxiliaries, adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, noun phrases, finite comment clauses, question tags, and different units of discourse. A number of zero correspondences signal occasional bleached meaning of *snad* and *možná* in Czech. The analysis is based on 100 examples gathered from the parallel corpus *InterCorp*, which is part of the *Czech National Corpus* project.

ABSTRAKT

Práce se zabývá anglickými překladovými protějšky českých adverbii *snad* a *možná*. Cílem této práce je vytvořit soubor možných překladových protějšků a analyzovat jejich realizaci, syntaktickou roli, význam a distribuci. Empirická část postupuje od klasifikace korespondencí dle typu k podrobnějšímu popisu lingvistických fenoménů a snaží se pochopit logiku za výběrem té či oné realizace. Nejčastěji se vyskytujícími protějšky jsou jednoslovná adverbia jako *perhaps* a *maybe*. Mezi dalšími překladovými protějšky též nacházíme modální pomocná slovesa, adverbialní fráze, předložkové fráze, jmenné fráze, tázací dovětky, větné vsuvky a různé elementy na úrovni diskurzu. Několik nulových protějšků poukazuje na fakt, že *snad* a *možná* mohou být významově oslabené. 100 analyzovaných příkladů bylo vybráno z paralelního korpusu *InterCorp*, který je součástí projektu *Český národní korpus*.

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Abbreviations and symbols

A	adverbial
acc	accusative
AdvP	adverb phrase
BGB	Výchova dívek v Čechách / Bringing Up Girls in Bohemia
CamGEL	The Cambridge Grammar of English Language
CGEL	A Comprehensive Grammar of English Language
DES	Largo desolato
H	hypothesis
IAS	Sněžím / I am snowing
IMM	Nesmrtelnost / Immortality
JOK	Žert / The Joke
L1	language one
L2	language two
LAG	Láska a smetí / Love and Garbage
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
NP	noun phrase
PrepP	prepositional phrase
RJD	Rome, Julie a tma / Romeo, Juliet and the Darkness
SCA	Scalpel, prosím / Scalpel, please
VP	verb phrase
ULB	Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí / The Unbearable Lightness of Being
*	indicates an unacceptable or 'non-English' piece of language
?	indicates a pragmatically odd utterance

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1. Introduction

This is a thesis about English translation counterparts of *snad* and *možná*.

The study will attempt a CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS of the two Czech adverbs and their English correspondences. Contrastive analysis is understood here as a "systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences" (Johansson, 2007: 1). The analysis will be based on examples from the Czech-English section of the parallel translation corpus *InterCorp*. The goal of the survey is to provide TRANSLATION PARADIGMS of *snad* and *možná*, that is, to give all the "possible translations" of *snad* and *možná*, "with notes on conditions of use" (Ibid.: 5). The set of examples under analysis will comprise 50 occurrences of *snad* and 50 occurrences of *možná*.

The decision to pursue this topic was inspired by an insightful introductory seminar on modality given to first-year students in 2010 by teachers in the English Department at Charles University in Prague. The approach adopted in this study is deeply indebted to a century-long endeavour of the same English Language Department and, particularly, to Vilém Mathesius' scholarly work in the first half of the twentieth century. His LINGUISTIC CHARACTEROLOGY has, among other things, informed the current corpus-based contrastive approaches to linguistics, as pointed out by Johansson (2007: 4). Linguistic characterology

[deals] with the important and fundamental features of a given language at a given time.

It analyses these features on the basis of general linguistics, with the aim of ascertaining the relations between them. A useful tool in this respect is a comparison of languages of different types irrespective of genetic relationship, insofar as it helps to uncover the real nature and meaning of the analysed language fact. (Dušková, 2012: 21)

The comparison of the two Czech modal adverbs and their English translation counterparts, aided by corpus research, aims to uncover such snippets of "real nature and meaning".

The CONTRASTIVE HYPOTHESIS tested in this survey is based partly on the language-learner intuition of the author and partly on Mathesius' claim that "English has fewer adverbs

than Czech [...] mainly because it often expresses adverbials analytically" (1975: 143).

I expect the sets of possible English translations of *snad* and *možná* to include:

- single-word modal adverbs, e.g. *Maybe/Perhaps she is here.*
- 'modal auxiliary+verb' sequences, e.g. *She may be here.*
- 'it+be+adjective+that' constructions, e.g. *It is possible that she is here.*

I do not expect many zero correspondences, as the component of modal meaning seems essential to utterances using *snad* and *možná*, and English has ample structural features to express it.

Section 2 (Theoretical background) will define linguistic terms such as "adverb", "adverbial", and "modality" with the aid of three synchronic grammars of English: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (CGEL: Quirk et al., 1985), *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (CamGEL: Huddleston and Pullum, 2002), and *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE: Biber et al., 1999). Unless noted otherwise, the terminology used in the thesis will be based predominantly on LGSWE. The section on modal meaning will draw on Paul Portner's *Modality* (2009), while a brief outline of the situation in Czech will draw on *Příruční mluvnice češtiny* (Grepl et al., 2008) and *Mluvnice současné češtiny I* (Cvrček et al., 2010).

Section 3 will present in some detail the material and the method chosen to test the hypothesis, and a discussion of important terms from corpus linguistics, such as "parallel translation corpus" and "zero correspondence". Many of the passages in this section, and the chosen method per se, draw on two recently published monographs: Stig Johansson's *Seeing through Multilingual Corpora* (2007), and Markéta Malá's *English Copular Verbs* (2014).

Section 4 presents a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data. The analysis is partially inspired by Anežka Macháčková's BA thesis (2010), which explores English translation counterparts of two Czech adverbs of certainty, *určitě* and *jistě*, and by Anne-Marie

Simon-Vandenberg and Karin Aijmer's monograph *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty: A Corpus-based Study of English Adverbs* (2008). The findings will be organized in tables and then explained.

Finally, Section 5 will offer a summary of the findings, the translation paradigm of *snad* and *možná*, and a confirmation, modification or rejection of the hypothesis. The complete set of analysed translation pairs—50 examples for *snad*, and 50 for *možná*—can be found in the Appendix.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Adverbs

Grammarians agree that the category of the adverb is "somewhat heterogeneous" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 563) and because of this is "the most nebulous and puzzling of the traditional word classes" (Quirk et al., 1985: 438). Adverbs can "modify verbs and other categories except nouns, especially adjectives and adverbs" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 563).¹ According to CamGEL, it seems, then, that the chief property of adverbs is their capacity to modify. This modification may be realized on two levels: first, the adverb functions as an independent clause element, often labelled as ADVERBIAL;² secondly, it functions as a pre-modifier to "heads that are not nouns" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 562) and is thus integrated within another clause element. In the following examples, the modified segment is marked with square brackets:

- i. *He quite [forgot about it].* (Quirk et al. 1985: 439)
- ii. *They [are] probably [in Berlin by now].* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 767)
- iii. *They are quite [happy].* (Quirk et al., 1985: 440)
- iv. *They are quite [happily] married.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 440)

In the first two examples, the adverb constitutes a clause element: in (i), the adverb modifies the verb *forget*; in (ii), *probably* modifies the whole predicate *are in Berlin by now*, and, more specifically, the speaker assesses the truth value of the statement. In (iii) and (iv), the adverb is integrated within another clause element, namely the subject complement: in (iii), the gradable adjective *happy* is modified, whereas in (iv), *quite* has scope over the adverb *happily*, but not

¹ Quirk et al. argue that in some limited cases adverbs can premodify or postmodify nouns, e.g. *the meal afterwards*, *his journey home* / *his home journey*, *the then chairman* (1985: 453). Other grammars, interestingly, do not see these as part of the adverb class: see Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 563-5).

² Not all grammars use the term *adverbial*, e.g. Huddleston and Pullum have a category linked to that field but with the label *adjunct*. Note that Quirk et al.'s 'adjuncts' are a subset of adverbials. This thesis prefers the term *adverbial*, deeming it the more widespread term.

over *married*, as **They are quite married* is not an acceptable English sentence.

The thesis is particularly interested in those adverbs which constitute clause elements, that is, adverbs that are used as adverbials. We expect *snad* and *možná* correspondences to function as clause elements rather than as modifiers.

2.2 Adverbials and their classification

The adverbial, as already mentioned, is an element of clause structure (along with subject, object, and so on). Although it is discussed in the three selected grammars of present-day English in much detail, the approaches to its classification vary.

2.2.1 Quirk et al. (1985): the grammatical approach

Quirk et al. base their classification of adverbials on the LEVEL OF INTEGRATION within the clause structure and thus distinguish between 'adjuncts', 'subjuncts', 'disjuncts' and 'conjuncts'. Adjuncts and subjuncts are "relatively integrated within the structure of the clause" (1985: 440):

He spoke to me about it briefly.

We haven't yet finished.

Disjuncts and conjuncts, on the other hand, are found to "have a more peripheral relation in the sentence" (Ibid.: 440–1).

Fortunately, no one complained.

We have complained several times about the noise, and yet he does nothing about it.

ADJUNCTS "closely resemble other sentence elements such as subject, complement, and object" and thus are well integrated into the sentence structure (Ibid.: 504). Quirk et al. propose a set of syntactic criteria in order to classify an item as an adjunct: the adverbial in *Hilda helped Tony because of his injury*.

– can be made the focus of a cleft sentence:

It was because of his injury that Hilda helped Tony.

- can be the basis for contrast in negative and interrogative sentences:

Did Hilda help Tony because of his injury or to please her mother?

- can be the focus of focusing subjuncts [for 'subjuncts' see below]:

Hilda only helped Tony because of his injury.

Adjuncts can be further subdivided into 'predication' and 'sentence' adjuncts. Predication adjuncts resemble an object in both their function of verb complementation and their relatively fixed position. They are either obligatory, as in *He lived in Chicago*, or optional, as in *The Queen arrived in a blue gown* (Ibid.: 505, 510). Sentence adjuncts often relate to the sentence as a whole and can go in both initial and end position: *She kissed his mother on the platform*; *On the platform, she kissed her mother* (Ibid.: 511–12).

The SUBJUNCT is an adverbial "which ha[s], to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements" (Ibid.: 566).³ They are of two types: 'wide-orientation' subjuncts, which "apply to the whole clause in which the subjunct operates", and 'narrow-orientation' subjuncts, which "may be subordinated to an individual clause element" (Ibid.: 566):

Architecturally, it is a magnificent conception ['from an architectural point of view']

He really may have injured innocent people

Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer point out that, interestingly, it is "neither the form nor the position which distinguishes" adjuncts from other types of adverbials in CGEL (e.g. subjuncts, disjuncts), but the fact that "they cannot occur in certain syntactic structures" (2008: 68). DISJUNCTS are therefore defined as elements that:⁴

- cannot be made the focus of a cleft sentence

**It is probably that he came back.*

³ In Libuše Dušková's grammar, the subjunct category is labelled "focus adjunct" (2006: 465).

⁴ Adapted by Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer (2008: 68–9).

- cannot be the basis of contrast in negative and interrogative sentences

**He didn't come back probably, but certainly.*

- cannot be the focus of focusing subjuncts

**He only probably came back.*

Arguably, these syntactic 'deficiencies' are responsible for the disjuncts being somewhat superior to and detached from other elements in the sentence, and "in some respects 'superordinate', in that they seem to have a scope that extends over the sentence as a whole" (Quirk et al., 1985: 613). Semantically speaking, that scope may be of two broader types: in the first, "the speaker may comment on the style and form of what he is saying, defining in some way under what conditions he is speaking as the "authority of the utterance"—this constitutes the class of STYLE DISJUNCTS; in the second, the speaker "make[s] an observation on the actual content of the utterance and its truth conditions" (Ibid.: 615)—and would then be using a CONTENT DISJUNCT.

Our survey draws particularly from the rubric of content disjuncts, as one of their subclasses comprises elements that express 'degree of truth'.⁵ These adverbials "present a comment on the truth value of what is said, expressing the extent to which, and the conditions under which, the speaker believes what he is saying is true" (Ibid.: 620). They are further subclassified into:

- disjuncts expressing conviction, e.g. *certainly, definitely, evidently*
- disjuncts expressing some degree of doubt, e.g. *likely, perhaps, possibly*
- disjuncts stating the sense in which the speaker judges what he says to be true or false, e.g. *actually, really, basically*

An interesting observation is made in the analysis of this category to the effect that "[m]any adverbs as content disjuncts, though not all, also correspond to other structures" (Ibid.: 623),

⁵ The other being 'value judgement disjuncts', "conveying some evaluation of or attitude towards what is said" (Quirk et al., 1985: 621).

which is in accordance with Mathesius' claim expressed in the Introduction (see p. 10). This can be illustrated by the following example (Ibid.: 623):

Evidently, he doesn't object.

It is evident (that) he doesn't object.

That he doesn't object is evident.

Quirk et al. conclude their classification of adverbials with the class of CONJUNCTS, which are the least integrated in the clause structure. Their various elements convey the speaker's "assessment of how he views the connection between two linguistic units" (Ibid.: 632). They often have both a conjoining and a focusing role, for example, *The patient has been carefully observed in the pre- and likewise post-operative phase of treatment* (Ibid.: 632).

2.2.2 Biber et al. (1999): the semantic approach

Although their approach resembles, to a certain extent, the one proposed by CGEL, Biber et al. base their classification on semantics. They distinguish between 'circumstance', 'stance', and 'linking' adverbials. As the most varied and the most integrated into clause structure, CIRCUMSTANCE ADVERBIALS "add information about the action or state described in the clause" (Biber et al., 1999: 763), as in, *He was even now sitting beside her on the sofa* (Ibid.: 764). The second class, STANCE ADVERBIALS, "convey speakers' comments on what they are saying (the content of the message) or how they are saying it" (Ibid.: 764). Stance adverbials are further subclassified into (Ibid.: 764):

- 'epistemic stance adverbials', which comment on factors such as "certainty, reality, sources, limitations, and precision of the proposition", e.g. *From my perspective, it was a clear case of abuse.*
- 'attitude stance adverbials', which express the speaker's attitude towards or evaluation of the content, e.g. *Fortunately this is far from the truth.*
- 'style stance adverbials', which convey a speaker's comment on the style or form of

the utterance, e.g. *Quite frankly, we are having a bad year.*

The third and final class, LINKING ADVERBIALS, "make explicit the relationship between two units of discourse", as in, *They were kid boots at eight shillings a pair. He, however, thought them the most dainty boots in the world, and he cleaned them with as much reverence as if they had been flowers* (Ibid.: 765).

It seems that Biber et al.'s circumstance, stance, and linking adverbials resemble, respectively, CGEL's adjunct, disjunct and conjunct subclasses. Nevertheless, their semantic criteria seem to account better for the inherently fluid and ambiguous nature of some adverbials that are found to occupy multiple categories. One of the examples discussed in LGSWE is *really*, which appears as a circumstance adverbial, epistemic stance adverbial, or degree modifier (Ibid.: 857–8). Furthermore, meaning units that correspond to *snad* and *možná* may not, due to the complexity of the semantics of modality, fit a single category.

It appears, however, that English correspondences of *snad* and *možná* will most likely be classified as 'epistemic stance adverbials' of the 'doubt and uncertainty' subcategory:⁶ "They include both absolute judgement of certainty and indication of belief in various levels of probability" (Ibid.: 854). LGSWE suggests the following examples of such adverbials: *no doubt, certainly, probably, perhaps, maybe, most likely, I guess, I think*. This category resembles CGEL's content disjuncts, expressing degree of doubt, but might be slightly more numerous and versatile in their repertoire, cf. *I guess, I think*. The reason for the wider span of LGSWE is that "stance is a semantic notion while disjunct is a syntactic one" (Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer, 2008: 72).

⁶ The others being 'actuality and reality', 'source of knowledge', 'limitation', 'viewpoint or perspective', and 'imprecision' (Biber et al., 1999: 854–6).

2.2.3 Huddleston and Pullum (2002): the position-semantic approach

Huddleston and Pullum classify 'adjuncts' (the 'adverbials' in their terminology) according to their position in the clause. They distinguish between VP-ORIENTED ADJUNCTS and CLAUSE-ORIENTED ADJUNCTS (2002: 575). The authors manage to combine the syntactic and semantic observations, and are thus able to "see that the closeness of the adjunct in linear proximity to the predicator at the heart of a clause tends to correlate with the closeness of what the adjuncts express to the content of the predication" (Ibid.: 576). In simple terms, they argue that the position of adverbs is central to their meaning, or, "iconic of [their] meaning" (Simon-Vandenberghe and Aijmer, 2008: 60).

CamGEL distinguishes between as many as twenty-six main "semantic categories": manner, instrument, means, act-related, spatial location, source, goal, path, direction, extent, temporal location, duration, aspectuality, frequency, serial order, degree, purpose, reason, result, concession, condition, domain, modality, evaluation, speech-act related, connective (665–6).⁷ The authors make the point that "elements belonging to the latter categories in this list are less tightly integrated into the structure of the containing clause than the earlier ones" (Ibid.: 666). The elements that have a higher level of integration are called COMPLEMENTS, whereas those found at the bottom of the list, with loose integration and often prosodically detached from the rest of the sentence, are labelled SUPPLEMENTS (Ibid.):⁸

The accident is probably due to a short-circuit. → a modal adjunct, in position twenty-three, less tightly integrated, hence a supplement

He slept in the TV room. → a manner adjunct, in position one, tightly integrated, hence a complement.

VP-oriented adjuncts, by nature of their close association with VP constituents, "denote

⁷ An example sentence for each semantic category can be found on pp. 665–6.

⁸ Further discussion of complements and supplements and the criteria used for their classification can be found in CamGEL Chapter 4.

modifications of the details of the predicate of a clause", e.g., *She walked unsteadily to the door*. Conversely, clause-oriented adjuncts, by nature of their looser association with VP constituents, "represent modifications of the applicability of the clause content", or, in other words, "how the propositional content of the clause relates to the world or the context" (Ibid.: 576). E.g., *He has surely made a mistake*. Modal adjuncts are in the category of clause-oriented adjuncts.

A closer look at the modal adjunct section in CamGEL reveals a few useful observations. First, while modal auxiliaries can express a wide range of modality, "modal adjuncts [...] are predominantly used for epistemic modality" (Ibid.: 767). This raises the question as to whether there will be any non-epistemic correspondences of *snad* and *možná*, and, if there are, what their syntactic realization will be. Secondly, modal adverbs have different DEGREES OF STRENGTH "according to the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, or to the actualisation of the situation" (Ibid.: 768), and distinguish four levels of strength: strong, quasi-strong, medium and weak. English correspondences to *snad* and *možná* might be found in the medium or weak categories. Thirdly, even "unmodalised assertions such as *Kim chaired the meeting* or *Pat is in love* also commit [the speaker] to the truth of the proposition expressed" (Ibid.: 768). This raises the question as to at which point we need the modal adjunct (or other realization of modality) to step in and thus emphasise or make more explicit an already inherent commitment.

To sum up, it seems that between Quirk et al., Biber et al., and Huddleston and Pullum's approaches to the classification of adverbials there is a good deal of agreement in the discussions about adverbials with epistemic meanings, although the three grammars define the category somewhat differently. They all speak of the degree of commitment to the truth value of propositions and place such adverbials in a somewhat peripheral position, having a scope over wider segments of the discourse. The analytical part of this thesis will be based on

LGSWE's classification. Biber et al. provide "a corpus-based approach to English grammar" (1999: 4)⁹ on a scale not found in CamGEL or CGEL. They distinguish, for example, between conversation and fiction registers, and most of the linguistic descriptions and classifications are backed by statistics from the corpus. The corpus-based contrastive analysis of fictional texts that this thesis attempts can profit from LGSWE's perspective on language.

2.3 Realizations of adverbials and their position in the clause

2.3.1 Realizations of adverbials

Adverbials can be realized by a wide range of linguistic structures. The examples in this section are taken from LGSWE (767–8). The list comprises single adverbs and adverb phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, finite clauses and non-finite clauses.

- SINGLE ADVERBS and ADVERB PHRASES

We know each other very well and frankly we would have preferred to come out of the hat first.

- NOUN PHRASES (including single nouns)

The man came to stay with them for a few weeks each year.

- PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The man came to stay with them for a few weeks every year.

- FINITE CLAUSES

I had to turn it off earlier because Rupert was shrieking.

- NON-FINITE CLAUSES

- *ing*-clauses

He got up and refilled the teapot, then his cup, adding a touch of skimmed milk.

- *ed*-clauses

⁹ The corpus behind LGSWE is called the *Longman Corpus Network*.

Now added to that—by our wall—there was this ruddy great lorry again.

- *to*-infinitive clauses

She called me to say a lawyer was starting divorce proceedings.

- verbless clauses¹⁰

The author apologizes where appropriate.

Prepositional phrases are the most frequent realization of adverbials, as they are commonly used as circumstance adverbials—the most common class of adverbials (Ibid.: 768). Stance adverbials are usually realized by single adverbs as they appear to prefer more fixed meanings. Even in the rare cases that stance adverbials are realized by finite clauses or prepositional phrases, they too appear to be fixed expressions (Ibid.: 768–9):

Yet many of the crowd were kept interested by the possibility of victory, which is, I suppose, what derbies are about.

2.3.2 Position of adverbials in the clause structure

LGSWE argues for four major positions of adverbials while maintaining that some adverbials can go into several or all positions (770–6):

2.3.2.1 Initial

Adverbials in initial position are placed before the subject and other obligatory elements of the clause:

In the nature of things, a good many somebodies are always in hospital.

2.3.2.2 Medial

Adverbials in medial position are placed between obligatory initial and final clause elements.

¹⁰ CGEL and CamGEL put the verbless clause realisation in a group of its own (Quirk et al., 1985: 489; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 669). For LGSWE's reasons for including it among non-finite clauses see p. 201.

There is variation in the medial position, as illustrated in the following examples:

- *Jean never put anything away.*

the adverbial is placed between the subject and the beginning of the verb phrase;

- *Carie had often dreamed about coming back.*

the adverbial is placed after the operator and before the main verb;

- *There is actually a very sound reason why Ray chose this amount.*

the adverbial is placed after the main verb (most often the word *be*; occasionally other verbs) but preceding other obligatory elements of the clause, such as obligatory adverbials, subject predicatives and direct objects.

2.3.2.3 Final

Adverbials in final position are placed after all obligatory elements, as in *He put the vase in the cabinet without a word* (Quirk et al., 1985: 498). Of course, "it is by no means rare to find more than one adverbial in this position", e.g., *She kept writing letters feverishly in her study all afternoon* (Ibid.: 499).

2.3.2.4 Other speaker main clause

This position is not found in CGEL or CamGEL but ample evidence is provided for its existence by the *Longman Corpus Network*. It appears that it is frequently found "in conversation and occasionally in dialogue in fiction" (Biber et al., 1999: 771). A speaker may add an adverbial to another speaker's utterance to "co-construct clauses or clarify each others' speech" (Ibid.):

A: I mean you don't have to pay for those.

B: Oh for the films.

The second utterance is clearly an adverbial relating to the first speaker's utterance. It is possible that some of the corpus results will provide such realizations.

2.3.2.5 Unclassified

The following example from the conversation register illustrates a position that has not been classified, but that is hinted at by LGSWE (772):

Are you gonna have a potato fork? There you are. On the table.

This closely resembles the "other speaker main clause" position, although this time it is a single speaker that modifies a clause that he has produced earlier in the flow of speech. This position occurs due the "fragmented nature of conversation" (Ibid.).

Quirk et al. suggest that "the overwhelming majority of adverbials occur at end position" (1985: 500). Such results correspond with the corpus findings provided by Biber et al. (1999: 772, Table 10.2). It is generally agreed that "each class of adverbial has a strong preference for a different position:

- Circumstance adverbials in final position.
- Stance adverbials in medial position.
- Linking adverbials in initial position." (Ibid.: 772, Figure 10.3)

As this paper will, in its analytical section, be concerned mainly with stance adverbials, a preliminary examination of the possible positions may be helpful.

Stance adverbials occur in different positions as they typically have a scope over the proposition of the entire clause. Nevertheless, the most common position is the medial, with a number of variants. These examples are taken from LGSWE (773, 874):

They are probably there now. → after the main verb

That, of course, means plenty of the flaky white stuff. → before the main verb

We'll perhaps change them when you get home. → after the operator

I really don't understand it darling. → before the operator

Stance adverbials can occur in initial position, especially adverbials commenting on the style of the clause. In that position they often have a secondary linking role (Ibid.: 874):

Of course, I did not have any illusion that my heroism was equal to his.

Maybe this damp weather has taken away my enterprise or my book has.

The higher percentage of final position stance adverbials in conversation and fiction (Ibid.: 872, Table 10.16) is explained by the propensity of these registers to use finite comment clauses. For example (Ibid.: 873):

It's going to be about three I suppose, isn't it?

Most of the others didn't, I guess.

2.4 An outline of the situation in Czech

A brief survey of two contemporary Czech grammars—Cvrček et al. (2010)¹¹ and Grepl et al. (2008)—did not show the level of elaborate classification of adverbials typical of English.

As in English, Czech adverbs can modify verbs, adjectives, adverbs and, in some cases, even nouns, e.g. *hodně lidí*, *málo času* (Cvrček et al., 2010: 274). Semantically, several types are distinguished: time, place, manner, degree, and contingency (Ibid.: 275). Some adverbs have special functions: either to express modality, e.g. *Po cestě je potřeba si pořádně odpočinout*; or to express state, such as *je zima*, *to je mi líto*, *Evě je nevolno* (Ibid.: 278–9). Czech modal adverbs do not seem to be directly related to the English class of the same name.

From a syntactic point of view, the Czech adverbs *snad* and *možná* are STANCE PARTICLES (Ibid.: 297). Grepl et al. call them EPISTEMIC PARTICLES (2008: 625) and claim that they are equivalent to epistemic predicators in their function of expressing modality. Epistemic predicators include phrases such as *myslím*, *zdá se (mi)*, *je pravděpodobné* (Ibid.: 624). Therefore, a sentence that involves an epistemic predicator, such as *Je možné, že se Pavel rozvádí*, should be, from the point of view of a native Czech speaker, equal in meaning to *Pavel se možná rozvádí*. Grepl et al. argue that the 'particle' used in the latter example is,

¹¹ Cvrček et al. have published the first part of a two-volume grammar based on new evidence from the Czech National Corpus concerning Czech morphology. The second, regarding syntax, and hence of particular interest to this paper, is, unfortunately, still a work in progress.

syntactically, only 'an insertion' and does not constitute a clause element (Ibid.: 625).

2.5 Modality as a semantic category

In his book on semantic theories of modality, Paul Portner proposes the following starting definition of MODALITY: "modality is a linguistic phenomenon whereby grammar allows one to say things about, or on the basis of, situations which need not be real." (2009: 1)

Traditionally, there are two varieties of modality: 'root modality' and 'epistemic modality'. ROOT MODALITY denotes "constraints and lack of constraints in situations [...] in our universe of experience", whereas EPISTEMIC MODALITY "is more oriented towards logic, dealing with statements about the universe, and constraints of likelihood on their truth and falsehood." (Leech, 2004: 84) Root modality can be associated with notions such as 'permission', 'obligation' and 'requirement', while epistemic modality comprises notions such as 'logical necessity' and 'practical possibility'.¹²

An improved classification is offered by Portner, as he regards the root–epistemic dichotomy as inadequate for encompassing the various modal meanings, especially when modality is analysed in terms of semantics (2009: 2). The author proposes a three-part division under the terms 'sentential modality', 'sub-sentential modality', and 'discourse modality'. SENTENTIAL MODALITY "is the expression of modal meaning at the level of the whole sentence", which includes "the traditional 'core' modal expressions: modal auxiliaries and sentential adverbs like *maybe*." (Ibid.: 2) SUB-SENTENTIAL MODALITY "is the expression of modal meaning within constituents smaller than a full clause, for example within the predicate", whereas DISCOURSE MODALITY "is any contribution of modality to meaning in discourse which cannot be accounted for in terms of a traditional framework." (Ibid.: 6–7) The latter type of modality has to do with phenomena such as discourse level meaning, performativity, evidentiality, and so on (Ibid.: 7–8).

¹² Examples can be found in Leech, 2004, chapters 5 and 6.

Discussing modality on this wider scale is important for this thesis as it provides examples of a variety of expressions of modality, some of which are unexpected for a student who may not be well versed in semantics. Portner admits that even today "[w]e do not know all the types of modal meaning." (Ibid.: 6) The following table provides a brief outline of some of the various possibilities for expressing modal meaning:

Category	Linguistic phenomena which appear to include modality	Examples
sentential modality	modal auxiliaries	<i>must, can, might, should</i>
	modal verbs	<i>need (to), ought (to)</i>
	modal adverbs	<i>maybe, probably</i>
	tense and aspect	the use of the past to express 'unreality'
	covert modality	<i>Tim knows how to solve the problem.</i>
sub-sentential modality	modal adjectives and nouns	<i>possible, necessary, possibility</i>
	propositional attitude verbs and adjectives	<i>believe, hope, know, remember, certain, pleased: John is certain that...</i>
	verbal mood	indicative, subjunctive
	infinitives	can involve covert modality, see above
	negative polarity items	<i>ever</i>

Table 1: Categories and expressions of modality (adapted from Portner, 2009: 4–8)

Of interest to the present study are instances where an overt modal operator might not be present in the English translation. It is advisable, then, as the above table suggests, to search for modal meaning incorporated in other segments of the clause. It might be contained in the past tense with the component meaning 'unreality', such as *Even if Mary stayed until tomorrow, I'd be sad* (example from Portner, 2009: 5). Alternatively, we might find a propositional attitude verb or adjective that governs a longer section of discourse, such as *Peter believed [...]*. The sentences which follow will inevitably be imbued with modal meaning.

3. Material and method

3.1 Some corpus-linguistics terminology

The research hypothesis presented in the introduction will be tested on a sub-corpus of 11 texts from fictional works, part of the Czech-English section of the parallel corpus *InterCorp*. *InterCorp* is a project of the *Czech National Corpus*, which aims to compile "a large multilingual corpus with Czech as its pivot language, comprising, at the moment, 30 other mostly European languages" (Malá, 2014: 28).

TRANSLATION CORPORA compile, in a systematic manner, original texts and their translations so that they can be easily searched and analysed by computer. They usually offer only a limited choice of text types as not all language input is translated. "[L]etters and e-mail messages, for instance, are not usually translated" and there tend to be "more translations in one direction [...] than in another" (Sylviane Granger, quoted in Malá, 2014: 26). Moreover, "the translators need not be trustworthy because translations are affected by the translation task and reflect the translator's personal style" (Karin Aijmer, quoted in Malá, 2014: 31–2). Malá points out that "the shortcomings of translation corpora can be overcome, at least partially, by relying on methods which combine parallel and comparable corpora or monolingual corpora" (2014: 31). COMPARABLE CORPORA are "collections of original texts in the languages compared" (Johansson, 2007: 5) which are made to match in terms of genre, scale, and sampling techniques (Malá, 2014: 25). The present study will limit its research to data obtained from comparing Czech original texts and their English translations, in other words, will use *InterCorp* as a parallel translation corpus only. No recourse will be made to monolingual or comparable corpora.

A common methodological problem before the corpus researcher is the choice of units of analysis. A good starting point is the term "correspondence". CORRESPONDENCES are "the forms which are observed to correlate between a source text and the target text" (Johansson,

2007: 23). "[T]he set of such forms in the target text which are found to correspond to particular words or constructions in the source text [...] or the other way round" are called TRANSLATION PARADIGMS (Ibid.). The aim of the current survey, as stated in the introduction, is to find translation paradigms of the Czech adverbs *snad* and *možná*.

There are two types of correspondences: overt and zero (Johansson, 2007: 23). With ZERO CORRESPONDENCES the translated text "does not contain any form that can be related specifically" to the word(s) in the source (or vice versa) while the two sentences maintain their semantic equivalence (Ibid.). In our case, zero correspondences are such English realizations that will display no single form that can be positively related to a *snad* or *možná* unit in the source text. For example:

"Na to **snad** nepotřebuješ vodku," řekl jsem. (Kundera) (S33-IMM)¹³
"You don't need vodka for that," I said.

There is no independent form, either in the English sentence, or in the surrounding co-text (see Appendix), that could operate as a correspondence of *snad*. The meaning of *snad* is not lost, however, as the English utterance seems to contain the epistemic modality of *snad*. It seems to be either part of the negative assertion or, possibly, signalled by the prosodic patterning of the utterance a native speaker would assign to it (if the sentence was to be spoken out¹⁴).

In cases where the *snad* or *možná* element can be specifically related to one or several elements in the translation, we can identify an OVERT CORRESPONDENCE. There are three types of overt correspondence: one-to-one, analytic, and synthetic (Malá, 2014: 86–99). A ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE "involve[s] source and target language of the same size" (Ibid.: 86). This is the case when the *snad* or *možná* meaning unit is rendered in English as a single-word modal adverb, such as *perhaps* or *maybe*. In an ANALYTIC CORRESPONDENCE, "a single element of the original construction [is rendered as] several elements in the translation" (Ibid.: 99). An

¹³ The assigning of sentence codes is explained at the beginning of the appendix.

¹⁴ This suggestion is based solely on intuition. It may be possible to back it up by distributing questionnaires to native speakers, but this would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

example of this is the prepositional phrase realization (3 elements) of *snad* (1 element) in the following sentence from the corpus:

"A on jí **snad** řekl, že tam bude mít s sebou jinou ženu?" (Kundera) (S25-IMM)
"Did he tell her **by any chance** that he would be there with another woman?"

In a SYNTHETIC CORRESPONDENCE, however, "two or more elements of the original [merge] into a single element in the translation" (Ibid.), as with this example from Malá (Ibid.: 102):

Will I turn brown? (Irving)
Já taky zhnědnu?
Lit.: I also turn-brown-FUTURE?

In the above pair, the English copula and its complement have merged into a single-verb predicate in Czech with the same meaning. Synthetic correspondences in our case, however, cannot appear as *snad* and *možná* are themselves single elements.

A further formal distinction can be observed between translation counterparts. When there is "a formal correspondence between the source unit and its counterpart" (Ibid.: 96), for example when both are single-word modal adverbs, we can label them as CONGRUENT COUNTERPARTS. If they do not share the same function in the clause, as in the example below, they are termed DIVERGENT COUNTERPARTS:

"**Možná** že se nemýlíš," řekl Avenarius zamyšleně [...] (Kundera) (M21-IMM)
"You **may** not be wrong," Avenarius remarked thoughtfully [...]"

In the source, *možná* is an epistemic adverb functioning as a stance adverbial, while in the translation it is an epistemic modal auxiliary integrated in the verb phrase.

3.2 The material: gathering and processing

To collect the material for the present research, *InterCorp* was accessed using a parallel web-based search interface called *Park*. To determine a sub-corpus of texts that would serve the analysis, two criteria needed to be adhered to.

The first criterion was 'current usage'. All source texts had to be Czech original texts written and translated in the last 55 years in order to reflect contemporary uses of the source

and target languages. The second criterion was 'adequacy of genre'. The choice of genre was conditioned by the availability of texts in *InterCorp*. The novel was the natural choice. I have included the genre drama as well, however, as it resembles the conversation register where a high frequency of *snad* and *možná* units is suspected.¹⁵ The sub-corpus reflecting the above criteria produces 11 texts: 7 novels, 1 novella, and 3 plays.

sub-corpus		Czech part (tokens)	English part (tokens)
Czech-English	<p><u>7 novels and 1 novella (Czech originals)</u></p> <p>Klíma, I. (1987) <i>Láska a smetí / Love and Garbage</i>, translated by. E. Osers (1991).</p> <p>Kohout, P. (1993) <i>Sněžím: zpověď Středoevropany / I am snowing: The Confessions of a Woman of Prague</i>, translated by N. Bermel (1995).</p> <p>Kundera, M. (1991) <i>Nesmrtelnost / Immortality</i>, translated by P. Kussi (1993).</p> <p>Kundera, M. (1984) <i>Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí / The Unbearable Lightness of Being</i>, translated by M. H. Heim (1984).</p> <p>Kundera, M. (1967) <i>Žert / The Joke</i>, translated by D. Hamblyn and O. Stallybrass (1969).</p> <p>Otčenášek, J. (1959) <i>Romeo, Julie a tma / Romeo and Juliet and the Darkness</i>, translated by I. Urwin (1960).</p> <p>Stýblova, V. (1981) <i>Skalpel, prosím / Scalpel, please</i>, translated by J. Newton (1985).</p> <p>Vieweg, M. (1994) <i>Výchovná dívek v Čechách / Bringing up Girls in Bohemia</i>, translated by A. G. Brain (1997).</p> <p><u>3 plays (Czech originals)</u></p> <p>Fischerová, D. (1979) <i>Hodina mezi psem a vlkem / Dog and Wolf</i>, translated by A. G. Brain (1993).</p> <p>Hável, V. (1984) <i>Largo desolato: hra o sedmi obrazech / Largo Desolato: A Play in Seven Scenes</i>, translated by Tom Stoppard (1987).</p> <p>Topol, J. (1964) <i>Kočka na kolejích / Cat on the Rails</i>, translated by G. Voskovec and C. Voskovec (1965)</p>	578,028	763,728

Table 2: Size and composition of the sub-corpus of the English-Czech section of *InterCorp* used in the survey

Column 2 in the table above provides some bibliographical data: author's name, the Czech and English versions of the title, the name of the translator, the date of publication and the date when the translation was published. The Czech part of the subcorpus comprises 578,028 tokens; the English, 763,728 tokens. In order to overcome the influence of translation bias or of

¹⁵ Of course, stage dialogue tends to be somewhat stylised and usually reflects the setting and dynamics of the stage. Nevertheless, it comes closer to conversation transcripts than do novels, as it tends to be unmediated by a narrator.

translators' idiosyncratic stylistic features, it was desirable for all of the English translations to be by different translators. This criterion was met in all cases but one: A. G. Brain translated two texts in the corpus—Michal Vieweg's *Bringing up Girls in Bohemia* and Daniela Fisherová's play *Dog and Wolf*. All translators are native English speakers, which improves the likelihood of high quality translations. There is one exception, however, in the case of Josef Topol's play *Cat on the Rails*. The latter is a joint translation by a Czech and an English speaker, Jiří (George) Voskovec and Christina Voskovec, but, arguably, the quality has been maintained.

With the sub-corpus defined, a query for *snad* and *možná* was conducted using the Park interface. The query for *snad* produced 597 hits, and for *možná* 268 hits. All of the entries were exported to an Excel spreadsheet and analysed manually. A few correspondences had to be omitted on various grounds:

- mismatched alignment
- unexpected text types, namely, a poem and a telegram.¹⁶
- instances where *možná* functioned as an adjective in the source text: *Proberme nejnemožnější variantu, u nich je pořád dobře **možná***. (Kohout) (IAS)
- 'co+*možná*+nej-adjective' constructions: *Loudavě se obrátil, jako by mu na tom pranic nezáleželo, a vynutil na tváři pohled co **možná** nejhlostejnější*. (Otčenášek) (RJD)

The RANDBETWEEN¹⁷ function in Excel was then used to shuffle the remaining entries into random order. The first 50 pairs of *snad* and the first 50 pairs of *možná* were selected for the survey; each was assigned a code for easy identification (see Appendix).

The method used was mono-directional (Czech source > English translation). No

¹⁶ The specificity of these genres, e.g. textual cohesion and level of fragmentedness, would require special analysis beyond the scope of this thesis.

¹⁷ I learned about this function from <<http://www.uwec.edu/help/Excel07/randomdata.htm>>

recourse to monolingual or comparable corpora will be made to verify the quantitative and qualitative assertions stated in the analysis. The analysis will move between the syntactic, semantic and discoursal planes in a loosely structured order. No single theory of language will underline the analysis, but an attempt will be made to "[take] an open view and 'let the data speak'" (Simon-Vandenberghe and Aijmer, 2008: 59).

4. Analysis

4.1 Types of correspondences involving *snad* and *možná*

The 50 translation pairs of *snad* and the 50 translation pairs of *možná* were examined and correspondence types were assigned:

Type of correspondence	sub-type		snad		možná	
			Σ	%	Σ	%
overt	one-to-one	congruent	24	48.0	33	66.0
		divergent	10	20.0	8	16.0
	analytic	divergent	7	14.0	6	12.0
zero			9	18.0	3	6.0
TOTAL			50	100.0	50	100.0

Table 3: Types of translation correspondence for *snad* and *možná*. The Σ columns give the total number of examples. The % columns give percentages.

Snad is most frequently translated into English by single-word adverbs, meaning that a level of syntactic congruence is maintained in 48 per cent of all cases. 34 per cent of the counterparts, however, were syntactically divergent. The syntactically divergent translations are either elements of the same length (20%), or those where the meaning of the modal adverb is dissociated into two or more components in the English translation (14%). A relatively high number of zero correspondences of *snad* was also found (18%).

Možná translation counterparts tend even more strongly towards one-to-one congruent realizations (66% of cases). The higher number of attested congruent counterparts of *možná* in relation to *snad* reflects the lower frequency of syntactically divergent realizations, either one-to-one or analytic (24%). Moreover, there were only 3 pairs in which there was no form in the English translation that could be related specifically to *možná* (6% of all correspondences).

4.2 Overt correspondences of *snad*

4.2.1 One-to-one correspondences of *snad*

All attested single-word correspondences except one (see 4.2.1.3) were realized either by an

adverb or by a modal auxiliary integrated in the verb phrase.

Realization	Counterpart	Function in the clause	Σ	%	%
adverb	<i>perhaps</i>	stance A	11	32.4	70.6
	<i>probably</i>	stance A	6	17.6	
	<i>maybe</i>	stance A	1	2.9	
	<i>possibly</i>	stance A	1	2.9	
	<i>surely</i>	stance A	2	5.9	
	<i>certainly</i>	stance A	1	2.9	
	<i>about</i>	circumstance A	1	2.9	
	<i>almost</i>	circumstance A	1	2.9	
modal auxiliary	<i>must</i>	verb phrase	3	8.8	26.5
	<i>could</i>	verb phrase	2	5.9	
	<i>may</i>	verb phrase	2	5.9	
	<i>should</i>	verb phrase	1	2.9	
	<i>might</i>	verb phrase	1	2.9	
conjunction	<i>so</i>	discourse marker	1	2.9	2.9
TOTAL			34	100.0	100.0

Table 4: One-to-one correspondences of *snad*

4.2.1.1 Adverbs

As can be seen in Table 4, almost 50 per cent of translation counterparts of *snad* were adverbs. The single most common translation is the English epistemic adverb *perhaps* (11 occurrences), followed by *probably* (6 occurrences). There is only one occurrence of *maybe* and one of *possibly*. These four adverbs are part of the semantic category epistemic stance adverbs and express likelihood or doubt.

- (1) **Snad** to působilo umělé světlo, připadal mi ještě bledší, vychrtlejší, ještě nemocnější, než jak jsem ho byl zvyklý vidat [...] (Klíma) (S39-LAG)
Perhaps it was the artificial light but he seemed to me even paler, more drawn, more sick than usual.

In terms of clause structure, *perhaps* here is perceived as peripheral and has scope over the whole clause "it was the artificial light"; it therefore functions as a stance adverbial.¹⁸ Stance adverbial correspondences of *snad* usually come either in initial position—before the subject

¹⁸ According to CGEL it is a 'content disjunct expressing degree of truth' (2.2.1); according to CamGEL it is a 'modal adjunct' (2.2.3).

and other operators (as in the example above)—or in one of the several medial positions as discussed in section 2.3.2.2. The second most frequent counterpart—*probably*—tends to occur in medial position, typically between the auxiliary and the main verb:

- (2) **Snad** tam bude. (Kohout) (S20-IAS)
He'll **probably** be there.

Compare this with a sentence with similar meaning but realized by *perhaps*:

- (3) **Snad** přijde. (Otčenášek) (S44-RJD)
Perhaps we would come after all.¹⁹

Two adverbs of certainty—*certainly* and *surely*—appear as one-to-one congruent correspondences of *snad* (9% of all adverb counterparts). These also function as epistemic stance adverbials; both of them, however, signal a component of certainty rather than doubt. The hypothesis failed to predict such realization, although Czech grammars give evidence that *snad* is used to convey certainty.²⁰

- (4) A: To tě nechal jet samotnou?
B: No von přeci bydlí v Motole. Měl to blíž.
A: Na objížděku přes Bubeneč **snad** má!
B: A proč by vyhazoval prachy? (Kohout) (S10-IAS)
A: He let you go by yourself?
B: He lives in Motol, Mom. It was on the way.
A: He **certainly** has the money to swing by Bubeneč first!
B: Why waste it?

In this exchange, interlocutor B²¹ assesses that the driver in question is rich enough to afford a detour via Bubeneč. In the Czech rendition, *snad* seems to include two semantic components: [1] evidential meaning²² ('I have good grounds to believe he is rich enough; people say so');

¹⁹ For the co-text of these sentences, see Appendix.

²⁰ Cvrček et al. view *snad* as a 'stance (modal) particle' which conveys a level of certainty or truthfulness (2010: 296).

²¹ The letters A and B are assigned in order to facilitate analysis.

²² This thesis considers evidential meaning as different from epistemic meaning. See the discussion in Portner (2009: 263–265). Portner defines evidentiality as "the speaker's assessment of her grounds for saying what she does" (Ibid.).

and [2] epistemic meaning ('I assess the fact of his being rich as highly probable').

CGEL places *certainly* within 'conviction content disjuncts' (Quirk et al, 1985: 620), which include elements such as *evidently* and *obviously*, and which account for the evidential component [1] described above. Biber et al. combine the categories of doubt and certainty in their classification (1999: 854).

Another unpredicted semantic function of *snad* appeared in the survey:

- (5) **Snad** za týden po operaci za mnou přišel sám do pracovny. (Stýblová) (S20-IAS)
About a week after the operation he came to my study to see me himself.

In (5), *snad* pre-modifies the time reference "a week after the operation" giving it an air of imprecision. The translator has therefore opted for *about*. *About* is generally considered a degree adverb, that is, an adverb that describes "the extent to which a characteristic holds" (Biber et al., 1999: 554). *About* has a somewhat more specific function of "scaling down the effect of the modified item" (Ibid.: 555) and is therefore called a DOWNTONER. The scaling down effect in (5) signals a certain vagueness or uncertainty about the exact period between the operation and the next visit. The words 'vagueness' and 'uncertainty' logically refer also to the semantics of epistemic stance. It therefore seems that an epistemic stance component is inherent in *about*. *Maybe a week after the operation...* could be a valid paraphrase. Indeed, LGSWE argues for an alternative interpretation of downtoners. Biber et al. point out that downtoners such as *about* can be interpreted as HEDGES—a subcategory of stance adverb that is used "to convey imprecision" and "can be adverbials or modifier[s] of phrases and words" (Ibid.: 557). An example from Biber et al. is, *About 15 families attended the first meeting* (Ibid.: 558).

The other degree adverb found in the primary data is *almost*. This is a downtoner which signals "falling short of the endpoint on a scale" (Ibid.: 556) and appears in translation pair S15–IAS. An alternative interpretation of *almost* as a hedge encoding imprecision is equally possible.

4.2.1.2 Modal auxiliaries

Divergent single-word correspondences of *snad* are usually realized in English by modal auxiliaries. Such counterparts were suggested in the contrastive hypothesis in the introduction (p. 11). Five of the nine CENTRAL MODAL AUXILIARIES (Biber et al., 1999: 483) were attested as translation counterparts of *snad*: *must* (the most frequent), *may*, *could*, *should* and *might*. This is not surprising as modality in English "has tended to be regarded as identical with modal auxiliaries" (Simon-Vandenberghe and Aijmer, 2008: 2). Even Portner chooses modal auxiliaries to start his "catalogue of linguistic phenomena which appear to involve modality" (2009: 4). The counterparts of *snad* expressed by a modal auxiliary are given in Table 5, together with the type of modal meaning they express; the traditional labels for describing types of modality have been used (see 2.5).

Counterpart	Primary meaning	Type of modality	Σ	Σ	%
<i>could</i>	possibility	root	3	3	30.0
<i>must</i>	necessity	epistemic	3	7	70.0
<i>may</i>	possibility	epistemic	2		
<i>should</i>	weakened epistemic necessity	epistemic	1		
<i>might</i>	possibility	epistemic	1		
TOTAL			10	10	100.0

Table 5: Modal auxiliaries as counterparts of *snad*

The expected epistemic modal meaning was attested in 70 per cent of cases. Three occurrences of root modality were realized by the modal *could*. For example:

- (6) [Tomáš vypnul rádio a řekl: "Tajná policie existuje všude na světě.] Ale že vysílá své pásky v rádiu veřejně, to **snad** neexistuje než v Čechách! To nemá obdoby!" (Kundera) (S48-ULB)
 [Tomas turned off the radio and said, 'Every country has its secret police.] But a secret police that broadcasts its tapes over the radio – there's something that **could happen** only in Prague, something absolutely without precedent!'
- (7) I tentokrát mi pomohlo tiché *Fuj!* (být u vchodu, bránila bych se **snad** svččenou vodou) a brzy se mi podařilo vstoupit plně do kázání i modliteb. [Do konce mše jsem na něho zapomněla (...)] (Kohout) (S19-IAS)
 This time, too, my quiet *Ugh!* helped (if I'd been near the entrance I **could have**

defended myself with some holy water), and soon I managed to fully enter into the readings and prayers. [By the end of the Mass I had forgotten about him (...)]

Leech gives evidence of "two kinds of possibility and two kinds of necessity" in English: root/epistemic possibility and root/epistemic necessity (2004: 84). He argues that "possibility and necessity are inverse concepts which balance one another" (Ibid.). This could lead us to think that instances of slippage or 'dialogue' between these two categories exist. Sentences (6) and (7) appear to involve instances of root modality. We can paraphrase example (6) by a non-indicative infinitive construction: *It is possible to happen in Prague*, which, according to Leech, signals root modality (Ibid.: 85).²³ Tomáš gives a general statement about the theoretical possibility of the secret police broadcasting its tapes over the radio.

In (7), *could* is part of the main clause of a conditional sentence. The sentence discusses an event in an imaginary world, so the meaning is not theoretical (*that could happen only in Prague*) but hypothetical (*I could have defended myself [but I didn't]*). Even in hypothetical sentences there is commitment to the truth of the proposition (which would account for the epistemic modal adverb *snad* in the source), but the commitment is described by Leech as 'negative' (2004: 119–20). My interpretation is that there is a component of 'root possibility' in the modal used with the extra meaning of intrinsic 'ability' (*I could have defended myself then, and I can defend myself now*). Nevertheless, the relationship between *snad* and *could* in this example is slightly problematic. Even if the Czech sentence discarded the *snad* element, it would still be translated *If I'd been near the entrance I could/would have defended myself* because the hypothetical conditional is present anyway. That is to say, *snad* is somewhat bleached semantically, and the English translation either presupposes it as a component of *could have defended*, or finds it unnecessary to provide an overt translation. This bleached meaning is attested in some of the zero correspondences of *snad* (4.4.1).

²³ Epistemic meaning would have been signalled by a paraphrase using an indicative clause introduced by *that* (Leech, 2004: 85).

The other modal auxiliaries in the primary data signal epistemic modality. There are three examples of '*must*+past infinitive' constructions. For example:

- (8) Skončilo to **snad** domovní prohlídkou, i vy dva jste prý měli být u výsledku, že, dostala jsem pocit, že právě tím přetekla jeho číše a on se rozhodl odejít. (Kohout) (S17-IAS)
It **must** have ended with a house search, you two were supposedly at the inquiry, which, I got the feeling, was the straw that broke the camel's back and made him decide to emigrate.

The modal auxiliary in (8) has the meaning of 'epistemic necessity'. *It can't have ended in any other way but in a house search*. Leech points out that the 'epistemic necessity' and 'possibility' are "inverse concepts", hence the possibility of a paraphrase with the doubly negated use of *can* above (Ibid.: 84).

Translation counterparts with *may* (and *might*) were predicted in the research hypothesis (p. 11) as they generally express 'epistemic possibility'. In the following example, the choice of *may* has been further conditioned by the fixed expression 'as+it+may+sound/seem'. LGSWE views this as a "co-occurrence pattern" and discusses it in the section on "lexical bundles" (see 990 ff.).

- (9) Člověk hledá ve chvílích neštěstí útěchu v tom, že svůj smutek spojuje se smutkem jiných; i když je v tom **snad** cosi směšného, přiznám se k tomu: vyhledal jsem si Halasovy verše proto, že jsem se chtěl seznámit s někým, kdo byl také exkomunikován [...] (Kundera) (S29-JOK)
In times of distress man seeks comfort by linking his grief with the grief of others; laughable as it **may** sound, I confess that the reason I sought out Halas's verse was that I wanted to commune with someone else who had been excommunicated [...]

The choice of the auxiliary *might* in (10)—below—may be conditioned by stylistic necessity. It is possible that the translator needed to accommodate the modal operator—the counterpart of *snad*—within the '*must*+bare infinitive' constructions in the co-text (underlined):

- (10) [A ona nic neví. Nesmí vědět, musí to sám vléci po světě, poněvadž kdyby to věděla, bylo by nebezpečí ještě větší.] **Snad** by se zbláznila a udělala nerozvážnost. [Nikdo nesmí nic vědět!] (Otčenášek) (S43-RJD)
[And she knew nothing about it. She must not be allowed to know. He must carry the burden on his own shoulders, for if she found out the danger would be even greater.] She **might** lose her head and do something unwise. [Nobody must be allowed to know!]

The initial subject pronoun *She/He* followed by a verb phrase involving a modal auxiliary establishes a strong cohesive tie. A counterpart involving a different syntactic pattern (e.g. *Perhaps she will lose her head*) would have felt odd and stylistically awkward.

A final example of a modal auxiliary counterpart of *snad* is (11). The translator sees the modal *should* as appropriate for encoding the meaning of *snad*:

- (11) [Šla jsem k vodovodu, který byl v koutě sousední místnosti, nalila jsem vodu do sklenky od hořčice a zapila dvě tablety.] Dvě, to je dost, to mi **snad** pomůže, ovšem od bolesti duše mi algena nepomůže, leda že bych snědla celou tubu, protože algena ve velkém množství je jed a Jindrova tuba je skoro plná, to by možná stačilo. (Kundera) (S36-JOK)
- [I found a faucet in a corner of the room next door, put some water in an empty mustard jar, and took two tablets.] Two, that's enough, that **should** help, of course Algena can't help me with the illness of my soul, unless I swallow all the tablets in the bottle, because it's poisonous in massive doses, and Jindra's bottle is nearly full, maybe it would be enough.

The speaker in (11) ponders how many tablets would relieve her of her pain. She finally settles on two. Her conviction that Algena will help is not sound. She refrains from using *that will help* and prefers to weaken the logical necessity by introducing *should*. Leech argues that "[t]his sense of *should* can often be equated with 'probability'" (2004: 101). If the translators had chosen other modals as counterparts, e.g. *that would help*, *that can help*, they would have failed to convey an important component of *snad*, namely, 'desirability', which *should* achieves as Leech posits that "the 'logical necessity' meaning [in such uses of *should*] is tinged with the connotation of 'desirability'" (Ibid.: 102).

4.2.1.3 Other

The only one-to-one divergent correspondence that is not a modal auxiliary is the translation pair in which the English counterpart of *snad* appears to be a discourse marker:

- (12) [Chceš tím snad říct, že je milej nebo co? - Jó, něco na ten způsob.] - Ale vždyť tě... no dobře, **snad** přímo neznásilnil, ale přinejmenším donutil spát s ním pár minut po tom, co jste se poznali. [Notabene v taxi!] (Kohout) (S21-IAS)
- ["Do you mean he's nice or what?" "Yeah, something like that." "But, I mean, he... Okay, **so** it wasn't exactly a rape, but at the least he forced you to sleep with him a

couple of minutes after you'd met. [In a taxi, no less!]"

"Okay" and "so" appear as discourse markers to signal the mother's hesitancy about stating *It was a rape* as an unmodalized fact. Discourse markers "are words and expressions which are loosely attached to the clause and facilitate the ongoing interaction" and "are closely related to stance adverbials, comment clauses and question tags" (Biber et al., 1999: 140). "Okay" is a counterpart of "no dobře", so if the linear segmentation of the sentence is to be trusted, *so* would relate to *snad* in the Czech sentence. *So* has a scope over "it wasn't exactly a rape" in the same way as the Czech *snad*.

4.2.2 Analytic correspondences of *snad*

Finite comment clauses²⁴ such as *I hope* or *I suppose* are common analytic correspondences of *snad* (29.6%). Analytic correspondences are cases (as defined in 3.2) when "a single element in the original construction [is rendered as] several elements in the translation" (Malá, 2014: 99). A single-word *snad* is rendered as a two-word or a multi-word element in 7 out of 50 examples (14%).

Realization	Counterpart	Function in the clause	Σ	%	%
PrepP	<i>by any chance</i>	stance A	1	14.3	57.1
NP	<i>no doubt</i>	stance A	1	14.3	
finite comment clause	<i>I suppose</i>	stance A	1	28.6	
	<i>I hope</i>	stance A	1		
question tag	<i>has he?</i>	question tag	1	14.3	42.9
lexico-grammatical combination	<i>I wouldn't say that²⁵</i>	clausal unit	1	14.3	
wh-complement clause	<i>what must have been [...] at least</i>	object	1	14.3	
TOTAL			7	100.0	100.0

Table 6: Analytic correspondences of *snad*

In 57.1 per cent of the cases, the counterparts function as stance adverbials. The prepositional phrase realization *by any chance* was introduced in Section 3.2 as an illustration of analytic

²⁴ CGEL labels them as 'parenthetical disjuncts' (Quirk et al., 1985: 1112).

²⁵ Discussed in Section 4.3.2.

correspondence:

- (13) "A on jí **snad** řekl, že tam bude mít s sebou jinou ženu?" (Kundera) (S25-IMM)
"Did he tell her **by any chance** that he would be there with another woman?"

Here, *by any chance* is an epistemic stance adverbial and is typical of the conversation register. Quirk et al. note that, together with *perhaps*, it "politely reduce[s] the impact of urgency of questions and conditions, or convey[s] and apologetic tone", as in, *Is Mary at home, perhaps / by any chance?*" (1985: 620).

The connotation 'desirability' inherent in *snad*, discussed earlier (4.2.1.2), is brought to the fore in example (14) by the use of the lexical verb *hope*:

- (14) ["Vaše lehkomyšlnost je zarážející: Co když mám v ukazovátku semtex?" Hýkali smíchy. Jiřík si trochu posmrkal sako.] Tak alespoň tyhle idioty mám **snad** z krku, pomyslel jsem si. (Viewegh) (S3-BGB)
["I'm amazed at your casualness. What if I had Semtex in my blackboard pointer?" They brayed with laughter. Jirik managed to sneeze some mucous onto his jacket.] Well at least I've got those idiots off my back, **I hope**, I thought to myself.

This translation of *snad* may be motivated by several factors. First, the translator has read the 'desirability' component in the utterance as prominent. Secondly, there may be a generic reason for the choice. LGSWE provides corpus evidence that one in five stance adverbials in conversation and fiction is realized by a 'finite clause' (see Biber et al., 1999: Figure 10.24, p. 862). "These finite clauses [...] are used explicitly to mark a proposition as the speaker's opinion, or to convey some level of personal doubt or certainty" (Ibid.: 865–6). The first-person pronoun subject that governs (14) is usually the preferred subject of finite comment clauses (Ibid.). The same subject appears in the second finite comment clause counterpart:

- (15) Skončil bych to, ale **snad** je k tomu třeba jakýsi ohavný talent a ten ve mně asi není. (Otčenášek) (S41-RJD)
I'd put an end to it all, but **I suppose** you need some horrible kind of talent to be able to do that, and I haven't got it.

According to LGSWE, noun phrases "are uncommon as stance adverbials, with the exception of the phrase *no doubt*" (Biber et al., 1999: 866). Indeed, *no doubt* is the only noun phrase realization of *snad* attested in the primary data.

- (16) A **snad** bych se byla dokonce za nějaký čas začala znova rozhlížet, s kým ho vyprovokuju příště, až zas bude nutné přiložit mu pod kotel, jenže to už se nebe nemohlo na mou prostopášnost (byť si byla nástrojem věrné a věčné lásky) dívat a ztrestalo mě, jak jsem zasloužila. (Kohout) (S13-IAS)
And **no doubt** I would shortly have started looking around again, for someone else to provoke him with the next time I needed to bring him back under my thumb – except the heavens could no longer look upon my profligacy (whether it was the instrument of true and eternal love or not) and punished me as I deserved.

In their seminal study on English adverbs of certainty, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer treat *no doubt* as "a true adverb" (2008: 121). Proof of its adverb status is that it often occurs without commas, which is the case in (16). When it does occur with a comma (or commas, in medial position), *no doubt* is labelled as "parenthetical or a discourse marker" (Ibid.: 122). It appears to collocate with *will*, expressing "a high degree of subjective probability". It seems that this is the case in (16), as *would* is simply a backshifted *will* due to the effect of the narrative tense. Another similarity between (16) and the discussion in Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer is that *no doubt* seems to predict the use of *but*.²⁶ Instead of *but*, the speaker in (16) chooses to use the conjunction *except* (underlined), which has similar semantics. *No doubt* has developed "from a noun group, which through ellipsis seems to have come from clauses such as *there is no doubt* and *I have no doubt* (Ibid.: 121). These clauses appear to encode a high degree of epistemic certainty. This is not the case with *no doubt*, however. After examining 82 instances of *no doubt* in their corpus, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer conclude that it has "probability rather than certainty meaning" in many of the examples (Ibid.: 124).²⁷ The use in (16) seems to corroborate their findings.

²⁶ Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer consider *No doubt we've got problems* to be pragmatically odd. *No doubt we've got problems but that doesn't make the task impossible* is a more realistic rendition (2008: 127).

²⁷ That *no doubt* expresses probability rather than certainty is also suggested by Quirk et al. (1985: 622).

The analysis revealed an interesting finding. In (17), *snad* functions as "retrospective qualification", after the assertion (Biber et al., 1999: 1080):

- (17) [S očima na tom byl ještě hůř než Petřík. "Koho jste oplakávali?" zeptal jsem se.]
"Umřel **snad** Arnold Schwarzenegger?" (Vieweg) (S2-GBG)
[His eyes were in a worse way than Petrik's. "Who have you been mourning?" I asked.]
"Arnold Schwarzenegger hasn't died, **has he?**"

Here, *snad* is realized by a question tag added to an interrogative clause (Ibid.: 210). In *Umřel snad Arnold Schwarzenegger?*, apart from the epistemic assessment of the probability of the event, the following semantic components can be discerned: [1] an emphasis added to the speech act, as if Schwarzenegger's death would be unthinkable; [2] an element of irony; and [3] a pragmatic and discoursal function to engage the addressee in the conversation. Emphasis, irony, and the involvement of the addressee are just some of the functions of question tags in English (Biber et al., 1999: 139, 208, 210), and they appear to condition the translation choice in (17) to a high degree. Question tags are typical of conversation but also appear in fiction, as "the distribution of question forms in fiction is similar to that in conversation, because fictional dialogue is modelled on conversation" (Ibid.: 212).

Two multi-word counterparts will conclude the discussion of analytic correspondences of *snad*. The first is a *wh*-complement clause,²⁸ which functions as a pre-modifier integrated in the direct object:

- (18) Když už jsem snášel **snad** padesátý balík, nedokázal jsem přemoci pokušení a rozvázal jsem provázky a obsah krabice jsem vysypal do nejbližší popelnice [...] (Klíma) (S38-LAG)
As I was carrying downstairs **what must have been** the fiftieth package **at least**, I couldn't resist the temptation to untie the string and to tip the contents into the nearest dustbin.

The *wh*-complement in the direct object (*what must have been the fiftieth package at least*) functions as a degree adverb. In this role it is similar to *about* and *almost* as discussed above. Arguably, the meaning of *snad* is diffused even in the element *at least*, which appears after the

²⁸ Or 'nominal relative clause'.

head, *package*. The function of *what might have been [...] at least* is that of a downtoner or a hedge.

The other multi-word realization (see S31-JOK) operates mainly on the discourse level and will be discussed together with similar realizations of *možná* in Section 4.3.2 where some notions pertaining to discourse linguistics will be introduced in order to aid the analysis.

4.2 Overt correspondences of *možná*

4.3.1 One-to-one correspondences of *možná*

One-to-one correspondences of *možná* constitute 82 per cent of all instances found in the analysed corpus—14 per cent more than with *snad* (cf. Table 3). Of these, 80.5 per cent are epistemic adverb, and only 19.5 per cent are modal auxiliary realizations. The single most frequent adverb as a translation counterpart of *možná* is *perhaps* (15 occurrences).

Realization	Counterpart	Function in the clause	Σ	%	%
adverb	<i>perhaps</i>	stance A	15	36.6	80.5
	<i>maybe</i>	stance A	13	31.7	
	<i>possibly</i>	stance A	4	9.8	
	<i>probably</i>	stance A	1	2.4	
modal auxiliary	<i>might</i>	verb phrase	4	9.8	19.5
	<i>may</i>	verb phrase	3	7.3	
	<i>could</i>	verb phrase	1	2.4	
TOTAL			41	100.0	100.0

Table 7: One-to-one correspondences of *možná*

4.3.1.1 Adverbs

Translation counterparts of *možná* realized by *maybe* and *perhaps* were predicted in the research hypothesis (p. 11). *Perhaps* and *maybe* are epistemic stance adverbs which express "some level of doubt" (Biber et al., 1999: 854). They function as stance adverbials and are not well integrated in the clause structure. This is evident in the fact that they frequently occupy the peripheral initial position, before the subject and before the other obligatory elements in the clause. When in initial position, they may be preceded by a coordinating conjunction—*and* or

but.²⁹ *Perhaps* and *maybe* tend to follow the initial position of *možná* in the source. A medial *možná* can also be moved to initial position in the translation, as Table 6 shows. The other two adverbs attested as translation counterparts—*probably* and *possibly*—tend to appear in medial position, as in the source. Translators who transfer a *možná* segment into English by means of an epistemic single-word adverb keep the source position in 78.8 per cent of cases:

position of adverb (source > translation)	perhaps	maybe	possibly	probably	Σ	%	%
I > I	12	7	1	0	20	60.6	78.8
M > M	1	2	2	1	6	18.2	
I > M	0	0	1	0	1	3.0	21.2
M > I	2	4	0	0	6	18.2	
TOTAL	15	13	4	1	33	100.0	100.0

Table 8: Position shift of one-word adverb counterparts of *možná*. 'I' stands for initial position, 'M' for medial position. The shift preferences of the individual adverbs is highlighted. The righthand column gives the *position kept* : *position moved* ratio.

The high number of *perhaps/maybe* counterparts may be attributed to the comparable semantic equivalence between *perhaps/maybe* and *možná*, the similar distribution preferences (as displayed in Table 8), and their fixity in terms of meaning; there is little danger of polysemy.

Consider two prototypical examples:

- (19) [Chvíli jsem se rozmýšlel.] **Možná** že už ji hned tak neuvidím. [Má další zkoušky a pak budou prázdniny.] (Stýblová) (S38-SCA)
[I thought things over for a moment.] **Perhaps** it would be a long time before I saw her again. [She had the rest of her exams to do, and then there would be the long vacation.]
- (20) [**Možná** že by opravdu nenašla druhého, kdo by s ní takhle nakládal, řekne ještě, kdoby s ní zacházel jako s pouliční holkou. (Klíma) (S34-LAG)
[You think I have to take everything from you, you think I couldn't find another man like you?] **Maybe** she really couldn't find another man who'd treat her the way I do, she adds, who'd treat her like a slut from the streets.

Modality can be expressed by multiple overt and covert means within a single sentence (cf. Table 1). There can be multiple operators interacting: modal adverbs, modal auxiliaries, propositional attitude verbs or adjectives, mood and aspect, and so on. This is evident in (20),

²⁹ The conjunction *and* was attested in example M50–ULB, and *but* in example M27–LAG (see Appendix).

where *think* (2x), *maybe*, *really*, *couldn't*, and *would* (2x) all express various types of modal meaning. An overlap of single modal meaning in several operators is also possible. The latter phenomenon is called "harmonic modality", that is, "cases in which two modal elements are of similar meaning" (Portner, 2009: 149). For example, *John can have the ability to swim* or *Mary thinks it may rain* (Ibid.: 260). CamGEL also suggests a possible "double modality": *Certainly he may have told her*. Huddleston and Pullum, however, point out that there cannot be more than one modal operator expressed by an adverb: **Certainly he possibly told her* (2002: 771).

It appears that *možná* is more fixed and monolithic in its meaning. The repertoire of adverb realizations is more limited than that of *snad*, and does not include the meanings *certainly/surely* or *almost/about*. *Possibly* and *probably* do occur as counterparts but have inversed frequencies:

source / translation	probably		possibly	
	Σ	%	Σ	%
snad	6	85.7	1	20.0
možná	1	14.3	4	80.0
TOTAL	7	100.0	5	100.0

Table 9: The choice between *probably* and *possibly* as translation counterparts of *snad* and *možná*

The figures in Table 9 are not representative due to the limited amount of data. They nevertheless provide an idea as to how translators view the meaning encoded in *snad* and *možná*. Translators who need to choose between *probably* and *possibly* will tend to associate *probably* with *snad* and *possibly* with *možná*, thus ascribing a higher degree of certainty to *snad*. When discussing 'strength of modality', CamGEL distinguishes three levels "according to the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, or to the actualization of the situation" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 768). The authors place *arguably*, *likely* and *probably* in the medium-strength category, while *maybe*, *perhaps*, and *possibly* are labelled as weak (Ibid.).³⁰

³⁰ In a similar discussion, Simon-Vandenberghe and Aijmer point out that if "*certainly* is seen as an adverb at the top of the epistemic scale [...] *possibly* [is] at the bottom and *probably* somewhere in-between" (2008: 86). In Czech, Cvrček et al. also make a distinction between the meanings of *snad* and *možná*. They label *snad* as a

The corpus data in Table 9 illustrate how translation counterparts can serve as "markers of meaning" (Malá, 2014: 112) without the explicit need to rely on linguistic form.

- (21) LUCY: Nezlob se, ale děláš všechno pro to, aby se to nepoznalo a abys to nemusel nahlas říct – tváříš se prostě, jako by to vůbec neexistovalo.
 LEOPOLD: **Možná** jsem skutečně v něčem víc zdrženlivý, než bych měl být, ale za to, promiň mi to, můžeš tak trochu i ty. (Havel) (M12-DES)
 LUCY: Forgive me but you do everything you can to deny it, to make it invisible, to avoid acknowledging it, you behave as if it wasn't there.
 LEOPOLD: I'm **possibly** more reserved about some things than I should be, but – forgive me – you're partly to blame.

In (21), Leopold acknowledges that his reservedness is a possibility. He diminishes the already weak validity of the assertion by a *but*-clause, thus laying the blame on Lucy.

4.3.1.2 Modal auxiliaries

Divergent one-to-one counterparts of *možná*, as with *snad*, are realized by modal auxiliaries. With *možná*, their repertoire is somewhat narrower as only three of the nine central modal auxiliaries were attested in the primary data. These are *may*, *might* and *could*.

Counterpart	Primary meaning	Type of modality	Σ	Σ	%
<i>might</i>	possibility	epistemic	4	7	87.5
<i>may</i>	possibility	epistemic	3		
<i>could</i>	possibility	root	1	1	12.5
TOTAL			8	8	100.0

Table 10: Modal auxiliaries as counterparts of *možná*

The four instances of *might* in the 50 examples of *možná* appear in non-past uses. According to Leech, in such constructions *might* is a "hypothetical auxiliary" with an implication "contrary to expectation" (2004: 130).

- (22) Pokračuji ve své tiché samomluvě, určené komusi neznámému, kdo **možná** přijde u příležitosti mého vyznamenání, vyslechne mne a konečně rozřeší všechny naše těžkosti. (Stýblová) (M13-SCA)
 I continued my silent soliloquy, levelled at that unknown person who **might** come on the occasion of the award of my distinction, who might hear me out and who might finally solve all our problems.

stance particle of certainty and truthfulness, but designate *možná* as a probability and doubt stance particle (2010: 296).

Leech points out that the extra tentativeness of the possibility which is encoded in the non-past use of *might* can be paraphrased: "*It is barely possible that [he/she will come]* or *It is possible, though unlikely, that [he/she will come]*" (Ibid.). Had *might* occurred in a past use in the form '*might+perfect infinitive*' the tentativeness would be lower and it would almost be "a variant of *may* (= 'factual possibility')" (Ibid.).

May is often used in the academic register, but rarely appears in conversation, where *might* is preferred (Biber et al., 1999: 491–3, Figure 6.12), especially in American English (Leech, 2004: 76). It is certainly true that the uses of *may* in fictional conversations in the sub-corpus are somewhat idiosyncratic. Consider the following example and especially its context:

- (23) ["Takže Bernard se stal totálním oslem, protože se ti líbila Laura."] "**Možná** že se nemýlíš," řekl Avenarius zamyšleně a pak dodal: ["V té ženě je něco, co ji předurčuje stát se obětí. Právě to mne na ní přitahovalo. Byl jsem nadšen, když jsem ji viděl v rukou dvou ožralých, smrdutých klošárdů! Nezapomenutelná chvíle!"] (Kundera) (M21-IMM)
- ["So Bernard became a complete ass because you liked Laura."] "You **may** not be wrong," Avenarius remarked thoughtfully, and added: ["There is something in that woman that preordains her to be a victim. That's just what attracted me to her. I was overjoyed when I saw her in the arms of two drunken, stinking clochards! An unforgettable moment!"]

This excerpt is from Kundera's novel *Immortality*, in which the main characters are famous intellectuals and former authors. When the fictional character of the nineteenth-century German philosopher Avenarius assesses the probability of his addressee not being wrong, the reader can feel the airs and graces of a conceited and pompous member of the intelligentsia inherent in his wording. The utterance is then more akin to the academic register, hence the use of *may*. In sentence M37-RJD, there is another '*may not be*' construction used in a similar context (see Appendix), while (24) is not a pure epistemic possibility meaning but rather a concessive use:

- (24) Na palubě se bavila pestrobarevná společnost. Nevěděl jsem, co slavili, zda svatbu, narození potomka či něčí jmeniny, anebo to, že k Měsíci, který **možná** jejich ne tak vzdálení předci vzývali jako boha, se blížila raketa s lidmi, ale vnímal jsem, že také já v

jejich blízkosti a pod vlivem jejich hudby se propadám do jiného, bezstarostnějšího, méně vědoucího času. (Klíma) (M33-LAG)

A colourful company was celebrating something, I don't know if it was a wedding, the birth of an heir or somebody's saint's day, or the fact that a manned spacecraft was then on the way to the moon which their not-too-distant ancestors **may** have revered as a deity, but I could feel that close to them, and under the influence of their music, I was slipping into another, more carefree and less knowing age.

Leech argues that in sequences '*may+verb [...]* *but*' the concessive use is manifested because *I admit that X, but...* is a valid paraphrase (Leech, 2004: 76).

The only instance of root possibility is an auxiliary verb realization with *could*. Again, a closer look into the makeup of the sentences reveals why this modal has been chosen rather than an alternative realization.

(25) [...] a pak je ovšem nejisté, zda se vůbec do tohoto města odstěhovala kvůli němu; **možná** se sem dostala náhodou, ale je též docela možné, že sem šla kvůli mně, vždyť věděla, že jsem tu míval domov! (Kundera) (M24-JOK)

[...] moreover, it was not clear that she had really moved to this town because of him; it **could** have been a mere coincidence, but it was also possible that she came here because of me, since she did after all know that it was my hometown.

In the source, sequences [a] *možná se sem dostala náhodou* and [b] *je též docela možné, že sem šla kvůli mě* do not have identical modal meaning due to the added emphasizer *docela* in [b]. *Docela*—which can be translated as *quite*, as in *it was also quite possible that*—encodes a higher likelihood for the event in [b]. The translator has not opted for this, but has still managed to keep the modal balance between [a] and [b]. A diminisher, *mere* (a peripheral attributive adjective), has been added to *coincidence* (there is no direct counterpart of *mere* in the source), thus, in effect, lowering the likelihood of the event in [a].

It appears that the translator has felt the need to make a further distinction which is not expressed linguistically in the Czech version although it is inherent in the situation described. The speaker does not know the motivation behind his friend's moving into town: *it was not clear*. Assumption [a], the *mere coincidence*, is founded on external factors—it is merely a 'theoretical possibility', in other words a root possibility. That is to say, there are intrinsic

constraints on the situation taking place (cf. Leech's definition of root modality in Section 2.5), hence the choice of *could* instead of *may* or *might*. An alternative explanation behind the choice of *could* in (25) can be found in Leech, where he suggests that "*could*+Perfect is a slightly more tentative variant of *may*+Perfect" in the hypothetical possibility meaning (2004: 183). It appears that the choice of *could* diminishes the degree of likelihood in [a].

4.3.2 Analytic correspondences of *možná*

Half of the analytic correspondences of *možná* are two-word counterparts which can be analysed on the syntactic level. The second half, however, were realizations that function on the discursal level of language.

Realization	Counterpart	Function	Σ	%	%
modal + adverb	<i>could well</i>	verb phrase	1	16.7	50.0
AdvP	<i>most likely</i>	stance A	2	33.3	
Y/N negative interrogative	<i>Was she not [...]?</i>	sentence type	1	16.7	50.0
lexico-grammatical combination	<i>I suppose so.</i>	clausal unit	1	16.7	
lexico-grammatical combination	<i>that's as may be</i>	clausal unit	1	16.7	
TOTAL			6	100.0	100.0

Table 11: Analytic correspondences of *možná*

In the following example, the analysis has rejected a one-to-one correspondence interpretation as the extra element *well* could not be related to any element in the source:

- (26) Oskar po chvíli přemýšlení odvětil, že je to **možná** překvapivě dobrý nápad. (Viewegh) (M7–BGB)
 After a moment's reflection, Oskar replied that it **could well** be a surprisingly good idea.

Hence it was accepted that the elements *could* and *well* operate in special modal dynamics and jointly encode the meaning of *možná*. *Well* appears to increase the likelihood of the idea being surprising. LGSWE points out that the frame 'possibility modal + *well be*' is a frequent lexico-grammatical combination, and "is relatively common in both conversation and fiction, with the combinations *might/may/can/could* + *well be* all being attested" (999).

An adverb phrase realization constitutes two instances of *možná* counterparts in the primary data. The head is an adverb of likelihood (*likely*) premodified by a degree adverb (*most*):

- (27) ["Co jsi čekal?" usmívala se Beáta. "Strohou světničku klášterní novicky?" Vypadala dobře, ale uspokojilo mne především to, že byla schopna ironie. "Cokoli," řekl jsem upřímně.] "**Možná** ale spíš útulek pro opuštěné drozdy. [Nebo třídírnou neekologického odpadu...]" (Viewegh) (M9-BGB)
["What were you expecting?" Beata smiled. "A novice's cell?" She was looking well, but most of all I was pleased to find her capable of irony. "Anything," I said candidly.] "But **most likely** a refuge for lost thrushes. [Or a screening plant for non-ecological waste..."]

Most likely is an epistemic stance adverbial of high degree of probability, which in (27) has a tint of irony attached to it. Other premodifications of *likely* are *quite likely*, *more likely* and *very likely* (Quirk et al., 1985: 620). *Most likely* is usually found in the news and academic registers (Biber et al., 1999: 525, Table 7.6). The inherent irony may be the result of the lover's choice of formal wording (academic register) in the relatively intimate setting of the exchange.

To interpret the next two examples, the thesis has to switch from the syntactic to the discursive level. The following analysis is based on LGSWE's chapter on "The grammar of conversation" (1037–125). Instead of sentences, it will now be more convenient to use the term 'utterance'. UTTERANCE refers to "a pragmatic rather than a grammatical unit" and is associated with "particular pragmatic (illocutionary) functions such as expressing an opinion, seeking advice, or requesting information" (Ibid.: 1072).

In the following example, the mother in a Kundera novel blames her daughter Tereza for her own failures in life. The excerpt comes as FREE INDIRECT DISCOURSE, in other words a representation of "the contents of an utterance in a narrative context [which] draws stylistically and syntactically on the expressive power of direct speech" (Fludernik, 2009: 67):

- (28) [Proti oběma manželům byla bezmocná. Jediný člověk, který jí patřil a nemohl uniknout, rukojmí, který mohl platit za všechny ostatní, byla Tereza.] Ostatně **možná** že opravdu právě ona byla vina matčiným osudem. (Kundera) (M45-ULB)

[But she was powerless against either. The only person who belonged to her and had no means of escape, the hostage who could do penance for all the culprits, was Tereza.]
Indeed, **was she not** the principal culprit determining her mother's fate?

The unmodalised assertion, stripped from the modal operators, if spoken out would read, *She [Tereza] is the principal culprit determining my fate*. The insertion of modal meaning is achieved by changing the declarative into a negative yes-no interrogative (a translation counterpart of the Czech *možná*). A NEGATIVE YES-NO INTERROGATIVE (or question) "challenge[s] a negative expectantation that has been assumed to exist in the context, and thus indicates the speaker's inclination towards a positive answer" (Biber et al., 1999: 1114). The mother's utterance is "biased" towards a positive answer: *Yes, Tereza is to blame for my fate*. Both *indeed* and the negative yes-no interrogative encode modal meaning of epistemic certainty. I agree with Johansson, however, who suggests that "even a high-value modal [operator] is less certain than the unmodalised form" and that "[u]ncertainty arises as soon as the question of certainty is raised" (2007: 30). Therefore, even in (28), the mother's utterance allows for the possibility that Tereza is not to blame: *She might be the principal culprit determining my fate*, or *Perhaps she is the principle culprit determining my fate*.

Two instances of *možná* (Table 11) and one instance of *snad* (Table 6) are realized by what Biber et al. label a 'clausal unit'. Clausal and non-clausal units are segments of language on the discourse level which "cannot be syntactically integrated with the elements which precede or follow them" (Biber et al., 1999: 1070).

Source	Translation	Meaning	Example code
<i>Možná</i> [,]	<i>I suppose so</i> [,]	epistemic / doubt	M5–BGB
<i>Možná</i> [,]	<i>That's as may be</i> [,]	epistemic / doubt	M41–SCA
<i>To snad ne</i> [,]	<i>I wouldn't say that</i> [,]	epistemic / doubt	S31–JOK

Table 12: Discourse level correspondences of *snad* and *možná*

Table 12 gives the three correspondences of *snad* and *možná* realized by clausal units on the discourse level. The full context of these translation pairs is to be found in the Appendix under their respective sentence codes. They are all stand-alone units in the discourse with no

syntactic connection to the preceding or following elements. They appear to be preceded and followed by a pause in the segmentation, although they have been followed by a comma in most of the cases due to typographic convention.³¹

Only one of the translation pairs will be given and examined here in full. Interestingly, the initial query in *InterCorp* linked to this example produced the following result:

- (29) "Možná. (Vieweg) (M5-BGB)
"I suppose so,"

The excerpt signals the conversation register—direct speech in double quotes—but neither the exact meaning nor the reason why this particular translation has been chosen were clear. More context was therefore supplied, indicated below by square brackets.

[Zatvářil se, jako kdybych promluvil finsky, a užaslým pohledem velkého skřítka, jenž omylem zabloudil na tenisový zápas, těkal pohledem od Beáty ke mně a zase zpět." Nekecej!" řekl nakonec ohromeně. Beáta vyfoukla kouř. "Jasně," řekla mysticky. "Nějaký pětikilo, jo?" řekl vědouně. "Takže nějaký šajny?" "Vůbec neváhej," řekla Beáta významně. Poprvé se obrátil na mě: "Nějaký pořádný šajny, co?" Krátce jsem pohlédl na Beátu, ale uhnula očima. "Jasně," řekl jsem nakonec, neboť jsem usoudil, že vyslovit nahlas slovo šajny by mi patrně dělalo obdobné potíže jako kupříkladu povel Osmá cé ke mně. Nepřestával mě zkoumat: "Šajniky šajny?" Zasvěceně pomrkal. Měl jsem toho akorát dost.] "**Možná.** [Možná by se to tak dalo říct," řekl jsem otraveně.] (Vieweg) (M5-BGB)

[He made a face as if I had spoken in Finnish, and with the horrified expression of a huge goblin who had wandered into the middle of a tennis match by mistake, gazed back and forth between Beata and me. "You don't say!" he eventually said in amazement. Beata exhaled smoke. "Of course," she said mystically. "Five big smackers, eh?" he said knowingly. "So some shinies, then?" "What do you think?" Beata said pointedly. For the first time he turned to me: "Some real shinies, eh?" I glanced briefly at Beata, but she looked away. "Of course," I said at last, judging that I would have as much difficulty saying the word shinies as I would giving the order Line up, 8C. He continued to peruse me: "Shiny shinies?" He gave a knowing wink. I had had about enough.] "**I suppose so,**" [I said wearily. "I suppose that might be the slang expression for it."]

We know that there are three people interacting in (29): Beata, "he", and the speaker. However, the "shared background information and the shared physical and temporal space required to fully understand this excerpt are considerable" (Biber et al., 1999: 1040). Several characteristics of the conversation register follow (adopted from Biber et al., 1999: 1041–52),

³¹ cf. "I wouldn't say that[,]" I said. "You are." (S31–JOK)

which will help us identify why the formulaic response *I suppose so* was used as a translation counterpart of *možná*:

- CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN THE SPOKEN MEDIUM

Tone units, stresses, pauses, loudness, and so on, inform the meaning of utterances. In the text, this information is partly supplied by the circumstance adverbials *in amazement*, *knowingly* and *pointedly*. We read that the source *možná* is said 'wearily' by the speaker. In other words, the probability expressed by *možná* is diminished further by paralinguistic features. It could be argued that *I suppose so* reflects this complex meaning (linguistic and paralinguistic) better than a prototypical counterpart such as *perhaps*.

- CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN A SHARED CONTEXT

The relationship dynamics between the three individuals informs their utterances. We do not know whether the speaker understands the short cryptic utterances of the other two characters. Even if he does, he appears to be somewhat aloof and bothered by what is going on, and therefore chooses the rather formal *I suppose so* response in order to distance himself. Michael Swan suggests that *I suppose so* expresses "unwilling agreement" (2005: 157).

- CONVERSATION AVOIDS ELABORATION OF SPECIFICATION OF MEANING

We do not know the denotation and connotation of the phrase "shinies", which appears crucial to the meaning in (29).³² Nevertheless, the reductions, ellipses, and the pro-form *so* in the excerpt stem directly from the avoidance of specification of meaning so typical of the conversation register (Biber et al., 1999: 1044). The low syntactic elaboration (*You don't say!, Of course, Five big smackers, eh?, Shiny shinies?*) presupposes the three-word response of the speaker. Only his concern that he has been overly elliptical and impolite in his first response urges him to provide an expanded version of his answer. (Note the

³² It might have been specified earlier in the book.

use of two modal operators [*I suppose, might*] to express what are identical modal meanings.)

- CONVERSATION IS INTERACTIVE

Conversations are "co-constructed by two or more interlocutors, dynamically adapting their expression to the ongoing exchange" (Ibid.: 1045). They comprise utterance-response sequences known as ADJACENCY PAIRS (Ibid.). Adjacency pairs can be symmetric or asymmetric. *I suppose so* is a symmetric response in the adjacency pair *Shiny shinies?* – *I suppose so*. The proform *so* substitutes whatever *shiny shinies* denotes.

- CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN REAL TIME

Conversations are typically spontaneous and speakers have to plan and execute their utterances "in real time, online" (Ibid.: 1048). The online nature of conversations and the desire to conserve energy results in, among other things, SITUATIONAL ELLIPSIS, that is, the "omission of words of low information value" (Ibid.). I believe that the '*I suppose so* - > [pause]' sequence (or *Možná* > [pause]) was a result of situational ellipsis and unwillingness to provide more information (the speaker was, moreover, *weary*). In the online planning, however, he apparently decides that more information is required, and this appears in the follow-up utterance. The repetition of *I suppose* (*možná* in the source) is another characteristic of online planning. In discourse analysis, these phenomena are called 'retrace-and-repair sequences' and take place when "the speaker retraces (or notionally 'erases') what has just been said, and starts again this time with a different word or sequence of words" (Ibid.: 1062).

To sum up, the choice behind *I suppose so* as a correspondence to the source *možná* was largely context-dependent and register-dependent. *I suppose so* functions as a stand-alone epistemic stance adverbial, expresses a stance about the truth-value of the preceding utterance(s), and reflects the aloofness and weariness of the speaker at the moment of speaking. An expanded and elaborated meaning is provided shortly afterwards as a follow-up utterance.

4.4 Zero correspondences

For nine instances of *snad* (18%) and only three instances of *možná* (6%)—as Table 3 shows—there is no direct match in the translation "that can be related specifically" to the source element (Johansson, 2007: 23). According to Johansson, such cases constitute ZERO CORRESPONDENCES BY OMISSION³³ (Ibid.: 26). Such correspondences are particularly common when the forms express "interpersonal and textual (rather than ideational) meaning" (Ibid.). As *snad* and *možná* are epistemic modal operators which express a degree of doubt, they are particularly good candidates for zero correspondences in cross-linguistic analysis.³⁴ Three instances of *snad* zero correspondences and one of *možná* zero correspondences will be presented. Johansson suggests that in zero correspondences of omission, "the meaning may be (partially) carried by some other form" (Ibid.), hence an attempt will be made to find compensation in the linguistic context for the 'lost' modal meaning.

4.4.1 Zero correspondences of *snad*

The first example is from Václav Havel's play *Largo Desolato*. The well-known author of absurd drama is famous for the negotiation of meaning, and for his characters' doubts and insecurities:

- (30) LEOPOLD: Nechápu, co to znamená – proč už nechcete ten podpis?
PRVNÍ CHLAPÍK: Nač takové formality? I bez toho je přece dnes už zřejmé, že to rozhodnutí bylo ve vašem případě pravděpodobně zmatečné.
LEOPOLD: Chcete tím **snad** říct, že já už nejsem já?
DRUHÝ CHLAPÍK: To jste řekl vy! (Havel) (S8-DES)
- LEOPOLD: I don't understand what it means – why don't you want my signature any more?
FIRST CHAP: It would be just a formality. Who needs it? It's become pretty clear by now that in your case it would be superfluous.

³³ The other option is ZERO CORRESPONDENCES BY ADDITION, i.e. "forms in the source text which have no formal counterpart in the target text" and which "seem to have appeared out of the blue" (Johansson, 2007: 26).

³⁴ Johansson's prototypical example of zero correspondences is the Norwegian modal particle *nok*, which roughly coincides with the English stance adverb *probably* (2007: 23–25).

LEOPOLD: Are you trying to say that I am no longer me?
 SECOND CHAP: You said it, not me.

If the Czech version had not used *snad*, it is plausible that the translation would still be the same: both realizations are positive yes-no interrogatives with a subordinated *that*-clause. I believe that the omission of a *snad* counterpart is compensated by the progressive aspect used in *Are you trying to say that [...]*. Leech points out that progressive forms are used for three major aspects of meaning (2004: 18ff.): "The Progressive form [may] indicate duration [...], limited duration, [or] that the happening need not be complete" (Ibid: 19). In (30), we are not interested in duration as the FIRST CHAP has said what he had to say. Nevertheless, the meaning of the utterance seems not to be complete. In effect, Leopold is asking, *Are you implying that [...]* or *Do you mean that [...]*. Progressive forms can have the semantic component of 'not necessarily complete', especially with 'unbounded' activity verbs, such as *try* (Ibid.: 20–1). The 'not necessarily complete' semantic component is "only a small step further to associate the Progressive with 'lack of commitment or confidence in what will happen'" (Ibid.: 30). A paraphrase using a prototypical epistemic realization might read: *Perhaps your previous utterance/actions mean/s that I am no longer me*. The latter is, however, far short of the illocutionary force, interactivity and idiomaticity inherent in the progressive form realization.

In (31), the protagonist is searching for a character called Víték. He is nowhere to be found and the speaker is inevitably brooding over what might have happened.

- (31) [Nevidím nikoho. "Vítku, kde jsi?" Žádná odpověď. Přejdou kabinet, nakouknu dokonce ven do chodby. "Slyšíš, ozvi se..." Ani teď se nic nehýbe.] **Snad** neutekl ven, leknu se. (Stýblová) (S45–SCA)
 [I couldn't see anyone. "Víték, where are you?" No reply. I went through the ante-room and even peered out into the corridor. "Can you hear me? Answer me..." Still nothing moved.] I began to be afraid he'd run off.

In the Czech version, the initial *snad* indicates 'whichever proposition follows will be imbued with a level of doubt'. The unmodalized assertion under the scope of *snad* is *Víték had run off*.

After a comma, the speaker offers us the circumstantial comment that the thought of Víték's running away has come to her mind 'in a flash', causing 'a pang of fear', *leknu se* (the verb *fear* is used with perfective meaning in Czech; the imperfective is *bojím se*). The translator has opted to give this circumstantial information central meaning and move the element to initial position: *I began to be afraid (that) [...]*. The proposition following this construction in the linear segmentation will definitely be modalized as *I'm afraid that* is a propositional attitude adjective.³⁵ It appears that *I began to be afraid* is not only a counterpart of *leknu se*, but also incorporates the epistemic modal meaning of doubt.

There is an alternative line of analysis. It seems that the two counterparts, *leknu se* and *I began to be afraid*, are not semantically equal in one further sense. If we shifted the speaker's utterance from reported speech to direct speech, it could easily read *I'm afraid he's run off*. The idiomaticity and popular use of *I'm afraid* as a discoursal preface signalling stance³⁶ are proof that the fear component is only partially extant in the above context.

The example of a *snad* zero counterpart presented earlier in Section 3 gives evidence of how either the negation or the prosodic patterning of an English utterance makes an overt modal operator redundant:

- (32) ["Miláčku, prosím tě," ukazovala stále na stůl a doplnila omluvně: "Nezlob se, jsem prostě šťastná, chci být šťastná..."] "Na to **snad** nepotřebuješ vodku," řekl jsem. ["Nezlob se, mám na ni chuť." Nedalo se nic dělat; nalil jsem jí pohárek vodky.] (Kundera) (S33–IMM)
 ["Please, darling." She was still pointing at the table. "Don't be angry," she added apologetically. "I'm just happy. I want to be happy...."] "You don't need vodka for that," I said. ["Don't be angry. I just feel like it." There was nothing to do but pour her a glass.]

³⁵ Propositional attitude verbs are, according to Portner, one of the "linguistic phenomena which appear to involve modality" (2009: 4) (see Table 1).

³⁶ For the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, *I'm afraid* is used "as a polite way of telling [somebody] [something] that is unpleasant or disappointing, or that you are sorry about: *I'm afraid we can't come*". In other words, the likelihood of our coming is very low, almost non-existent.

It appears that the Czech adverb *snad* is semantically somewhat bleached. I believe, however, that it cannot be removed as it appears to hold the metric balance of the Czech sentence. Without *snad*, the sentence would be less forceful and less immediate.³⁷

4.4.1 Zero correspondences of *možná*

Two of the instances of zero correspondences of *možná* provide evidence that a compensation for the unit of meaning encoded in *možná* in the source might have been incorporated in a hypothetical construction (as in M1–BGB) or in the adverb *surely* in M26–LAG. In both attested examples, the meaning of *možná* seems somewhat semantically bleached.

A less-straightforward translation pair is the following:

- (33) [Mlčel jsem. Opakovala otázku. Nutila mne, abych odpověděl. Řekl jsem: "Nevím."] "Přemýšlej trochu," naléhala, "**možná**, že na to přijdeš." (Kundera) (M5-BGB)
[I said nothing. She repeated the question. She forced me to answer. I said: "I don't know."] "Think a little harder," she insisted. "You know the answer."

The first part of the utterance, *Think a little harder*, seems to correspond neatly with the source. The second part, however, is completely changed. The proposition of the addressee 'arriving at' / 'coming up with' / 'finding' the answer (*na to přijdeš*) is substituted with the proposition of the addressee 'knowing' the answer (*know*). This sounds odd as the addressee evidently does not know the answer (*I don't know*). What is implied, I believe—in paralinguistic features—is *I believe you know the answer*, or *No doubt you'll shortly come up with the answer*. The paraphrases offered here, if valid, show that on the discourse level and within the context of the book, the utterance *You know the answer* is modalized and expresses a degree of uncertainty about the fact.

³⁷ Again, the author speaks from his intuition of Czech.

5. Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to arrive at a translation paradigm of Czech adverbs *snad* and *možná*. The material behind the analysis comprised 50 examples of translation pairs with *snad* and 50 examples of translation pairs with *možná*, taken from *InterCorp*—a parallel translation corpus and part of the *Czech National Corpus* project. All excerpts come from works of fiction—novels and plays—written and translated within the past 55 years. This guarantees current use of language and a generally high quality of material. The choice of material was influenced by the fact that fictional texts tend to be the dominant text type in *InterCorp*, and novels and (particularly) plays contain extensive sections of conversation simulation either as direct and reported speech or as free indirect discourse. Such an environment, the author assumed, was bound to provide a good sample of *snad* and *možná* occurrences.

The research hypothesis, based on Vilém Mathesius' insight and on the author's language-learner intuition, predicted the following: the majority of translation counterparts of *snad* and *možná* will be (H1) English single-word modal adverbs such as *maybe* and *perhaps*; other realizations may be (H2) 'modal auxiliary+verb' sequences with *may* or *might*, or (H3) 'it+be+adjective+that' constructions such as *It is possible that [...]*. The research hypothesis (H4) did not expect many zero correspondences because English—although a language genetically different from Czech—possesses ample structural means of rendering *snad* and *možná* meanings overtly.

A qualitative and quantitative analysis was conducted on the 100 translation pairs. The analysis partly confirmed the hypothesis (H1+H2). A great number of unpredicted translation correspondences were, however, attested and needed to be accounted for. There was not a single instance of the 'it+be+adjective+that' construction (H3). Moreover, there was no paucity of zero correspondences (H4); in fact, in the case of *snad*, they constituted as many as 18 per cent of all realizations. The hypothesis therefore needed to be substantially modified.

Contrastive analysis showed that the single most frequent translation counterpart of *snad* and *možná* is the English epistemic stance adverb signalling 'doubt', *perhaps* (H1). This was the case in 22 per cent of all instances of *snad*, and in 30 per cent of all instances of *možná*. Occasionally, other stance adverbs appeared as counterparts: *maybe*, *possibly*, *probably*, *surely*, and *certainly*. The first three are epistemic stance adverbs expressing doubt. The latter two—*certainly* and *surely*—were not predicted in the hypothesis. This suggests that *snad* can also encode certainty meanings and conviction. This meaning is corroborated by Cvrček et al.'s classification of *snad* as a 'stance (modal) particle' signalling certainty (2010: 296). Such uses of *snad* are often imbued with extra semantic components, such as evidential meaning or the speaker's incredulity or indignation.

Another unexpected semantic function of *snad* was attested in the survey: two English counterparts—*about* and *almost*—signalled that *snad* can also encode a sense of imprecision. *About* and *almost* are degree adverbs generally labelled as 'downtoners', meaning they scale down the effect of a modified item. Alternatively, they can be viewed as 'hedges', which shows that they imply at least some epistemic meaning.

Comparing *snad* and *možná* correspondences, *snad* definitely appears as a semantically more versatile modal operator. *Možná* meaning units, on the other hand, are much more stable and unified, as is reflected in the smaller repertoire of translation counterparts—there is neither a degree adverb counterpart nor a realization involving certainty adverbs such as *certainly* and *surely*. Apart from the dominant realization with *perhaps* (15 instances out of 50), *možná* is often rendered in English as *maybe* (13 instances out of 50). *Possibly* and *probably* also occur as counterparts of *možná* (4 and 1 instances respectively).

A quantitative analysis of *possibly* and *probably* as counterparts showed that *snad* tends to be translated as *probably*, *možná* as *possibly*. Using CamGEL's notion of "strength of modality" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 768), we identified that the pair *možná/possibly*

expresses "weak commitment to the truth of the proposition, or to the actualization of the situation" (Ibid.), whereas the pair *snad/probably* encodes medium commitment.

In terms of linear segmentation, *perhaps* and *maybe* frequently occur in initial position, signalling that they are both somewhat peripheral and tend to have a scope over the whole proposition. In this position they also signal a cohesive role in the text. Occasionally, they can even modalize a proposition retrospectively. The two other positions suggested by LGSWE but not mentioned in other grammars—'other speaker main clause' (2.3.2.4) and what this thesis labelled 'unclassified' (2.3.2.5)—were not attested in the primary data. This might be due to the fact that these positions are expected to appear in 'pure' conversation register. Conversation in fiction, while having a certain level of realism, is by nature an artifice.

Some 18 per cent of *snad* counterparts and 16 per cent of *možná* counterparts were realized by a modal auxiliary (H2). Although the hypothesis predicted this, the only realizations proposed were *may* and *might*. Contrary to expectation, *must*, *could* and *should* realizations were also attested in the primary data. Again, *snad* tended to be semantically more versatile. While the counterparts of *možná* generally encoded epistemic possibility (87.5% of all modal auxiliary realizations), *snad* counterparts also allowed for epistemic necessity meanings (40%) as well as for root possibility (30%). The epistemic necessity meanings were realized by *must* and *should*, whereas the root possibility was conveyed by *could*. In the sub-corpus, the modal auxiliary realizations tended to co-occur with an impersonal subject (*to* in Czech as in *skončilo to snad domovní prohlídkou*; *it/that* in English as in *it must have ended with a house search*). On the other hand, the prototypical adverb realizations were usually governed by an animate subject or a personal pronoun subject (as in *Možná, že ani nechtěla volat* >> *Perhaps she didn't even want to telephone*).

What the hypothesis failed to predict was the range of overt analytic correspondences. These syntactically divergent correspondences render the *snad* and *možná* element by either two- or multi-word elements in the target language. This, however, is what Mathesius' claim

suggested at the outset of the thesis, namely that "English [...] often expresses adverbials analytically" (1975: 143). In the case of *snad*, the following realizations were attested: a prepositional phrase (*by any chance*), a noun phrase (*no doubt*), two finite comment clauses (*I suppose* and *I hope*), a question tag, a lexico-grammatical combination (*I wouldn't say that*) and a *wh*-complement clause (*what must have been [...] at least*). The first three types of realizations functioned as epistemic stance adverbials, and all had adverb status and were fixed units.

Analytic correspondences for *možná* were somewhat limited in their repertoire compared to those for *snad*. There were only two instances of stance adverbial function, realized by an adverb phrase (*most likely*). There was one 'modal auxiliary+*well*+*be*' construction (*could well*), one negative yes-no interrogative and two lexico-grammatical combinations (*That's as may be* and *I suppose so*). The latter functioned on the discourse level as prefaces or responses. It appears that in conversation, *snad* and *možná* meaning units can be expressed in English in various creative ways which tend to be context-dependent, idiomatic, and to reflect the online processing nature of spoken language.

After the full qualitative and quantitative analysis of the primary data was completed, one more vital modification to the contrastive hypothesis needed to be introduced. The number of zero correspondences—particularly in the case of *snad*—was greater than was initially predicted (H4). There were 9 instances of *snad* where there was no form in the translation that could be directly related to the source. With *možná* there were three such cases. In all, 12 translation pairs with some compensation in the linguistic context was found. Although modal meaning is essential to utterances, particularly in the conversation register (as the hypothesis predicted), modal meaning in English can be expressed by various linguistic and paralinguistic features. As the analysis of four of the zero correspondences in the primary data showed, modal meaning in English can be encoded in a number of ways: by progressive forms, by prototypical prosodic patterning of an utterance, by English negative uses (more marked than

in Czech), by propositional attitude verbs and adjectives, and so on. Arguably, zero correspondences can also be a result of a translator's interpretation, where modal meanings might be foregrounded or neutralized with no clear-cut motivation.

There is scope for questioning the findings of the thesis on the following grounds:

- A) The approach used in the analysis of language segments attempted to rely on useful insight and accurate descriptions found in the major synchronic grammars of English, particularly *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al, 1999). Nevertheless, a level of subjectivity in the analysis must be acknowledged, especially in relation to the analytic and zero correspondences. A potential means of counteracting this subjectivity would be to design questionnaires that address specific strands of meaning and give them out to native speakers to complete. This was beyond the scope of this thesis.
- B) The sets of translation choices presented in the tables and in the analysis do not consist of hard and fast rules about realizations, meanings and the distribution of such units in Czech and English, but rather sketches of possible forms and uses. The limited validity of the findings stems from the nature of translations per se—Čermák and Rosen point out that "translations are not original, authentic texts (and, for that matter, nor are the contexts that are translated)" (2012: 422)—and from the lack of genre variation in the sub-corpus. Improved validity might have been achieved if a wider repertoire of texts and genres had been used (particularly conversation transcripts), and if recourse had been made to monolingual corpora in order to verify frequencies and uses attested in *InterCorp*.
- C) The mono-directional approach used in this thesis (Czech original > English translation) has various limitations, as Malá suggests (2014: 31–3). "Translationese phenomena" such as simplification or explication, or reflecting language structures in the source which are not particularly natural in the source, may invalidate some of the findings and insights presented in this study (Ibid: 32). A possible alternative could have been to adopt a 'bi-directional' or 'multi-directional' approach. The first of these is the underlying approach

behind Malá's monograph *English Copular Verbs* (2014) and comprises three steps: identification of the source construction in L1; analysis of its translation counterparts in L2; finally, a typical L2 counterpart is chosen as a 'marker of meaning' and L1 constructions expressing the same meaning are then identified and analysed (Ibid: 112–3).³⁸ An L1 monolingual corpus is then used to guarantee the validity of the findings. The 'multi-directional approach' was employed by "Helge Dyvik's (1998, 2005) semantic mirrors project" (Johansson, 2007: 30). It involves "examin[ing] correspondences of words first in one direction (first image), then from each of these back to the first language again (second image), and a third time from each of the new correspondences across to the other language (third image)" (Ibid.). Neither the scale of Helge's "mirror project" nor the precision of Malá's bi-directional approach could have been used in this survey for technical reasons. Nevertheless these approaches suggest interesting and fruitful paths for future linguistic explorations.

Despite the limitations, the method adopted in this thesis managed to provide useful insights into the cross-linguistic relationships between Czech and English in terms of how epistemic modal meaning is rendered. The survey found that the Czech *snad* expresses a stronger degree of certainty than *možná*, and that it encodes extra semantic components, such as evidentiality, or conveys indignation or incredulity. On the other hand, *možná*, although it is a modally weaker operator, is much more fixed in terms of meaning and does not include the extra components typical of *snad*. In the analysis of English correspondences it is interesting to note how modality is implied in multiple ways (most of them predicted by Portner) and how modal operators form intricate structures across segments of discourse.

³⁸ L2 in Malá appears to be "employed as an auxiliary language or a 'repository' of translation equivalents which may serve as markers of meaning" (2014: 113).

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Summary in Czech

Táto práce zkoumá česká adverbia *snad* a *možná* a jejich anglické překladové protějšky. Je založena na kontrastivním přístupu a analyzuje 50 výskytů *snad* a 50 výskytů *možná* získaných z paralelního korpusu *InterCorp*, který je součástí projektu *Český národní korpus*. *Snad* a *možná* vyjadřují modální význam pochybnost o pravdivosti nebo pravděpodobnosti tvrzeného výroku. Jsou to jednoslovné příslovce, jejichž obvyklé slovníkové protějšky v angličtině jsou *perhaps* nebo *maybe*. Kontrastivní hypotéza vycházela jak z jazykové intuice autora, tak z poznatku Viléma Mathesia, že se adverbialie v angličtině často vyjadřují analyticky (1975: 143). Hypotéza očekávala překladové protějšky realizované jednoslovným adverbium typu *perhaps* a *maybe*, realizace s modálním slovesem *may* nebo *might*, nebo konstrukcí typu *It is possible that [...]*. Hypotéza nepředpokládala vysoký výskyt nulových protějšků, jelikož modální význam obsažený v *snad* a *možná* se zdál být zásadním z pohledu výroku.

Práce je rozdělená do pěti částí. Po úvodu následuje část teoretická, která podává shrnutí poznatků o adverbialích třech současných synchronních gramatik anglického jazyka autorských kolektivů Quirk et al. (1985), Huddelston a Pullum (2002), a Biber et al. (1999). Tato práce používá terminologii převážně z poslední gramatiky, tj. z *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, dále jen LGSWE. V teoretické části jsou dále uvedeny krátké informace o situaci v češtině získané z dvou současných českých mluvnic (Grepl et al. 2008; Cvrček et al. 2010). Dále je nabídnut nástin sémantické kategorie modality získaný z monografie Paula Portnera *Modality* (2009). Po teoretické části následuje kapitola osvětlující zpracování získaných příkladů a pár slov o možnostech a limitech paralelních korpusů typu *InterCorp*. Samotná analytická část prezentuje kvalitativní a kvantitativní analýzu příkladů v podobě tabulek a podrobnějšího popisu 33 vět. Práce je ukončená závěrem, který shrnuje dosažené poznatky, poukazuje na jistá omezení ve vybraném přístupu a na možnosti budoucího bádání.

V teoretické části byly předloženy tři klasifikace adverbialíí, které vycházely ze třech již zmíněných gramatik. Klasifikace se značně překrývaly. V této práci byla použita klasifikace LGSWE. Adverbiale jsou syntaktické elementy, které nejčastěji obsahují významy *snad* a *možná* v angličtině. Předběžně bylo určeno, že anglické překladové protějšky *snad* a *možná* budou nejčastěji vystupovat jako epistemické postojové adverbiale (epistemic stance adverbials) vyjadřující pochybnost (doubt). Byly zmíněny všechny možné realizace adverbialíí a taky jejich distribuce v syntaktickém členění věty. Nahlédnutí do dvou českých mluvnic – *Příruční mluvnice češtiny* (2008) a *Mluvnice současné češtiny I* (2010) nabídlo několik příkladů užití *možná* a stručný přehled kategorie adverbíí v češtině. Taktéž poskytla informaci o tom, že v češtině se chápe užití *možná* na syntaktické rovině jako 'modální částice' nebo 'vsuvka' a ne jako adverbiale, jako je tomu v angličtině. Nakonec teoretické části byly nabídnuty dva pohledy na klasifikaci modálních významů: tradiční rozdělení na dispoziční (root) a jistotní neboli epistemickou (epistemic) modalitu (Leech: 2004: 84) a klasifikace Paula Portnera (2008: 4–8). Portnerův pohled nabídl širokou škálu fenoménů, které by mohly obsahovat modální významy a které by tudíž mohly pomoci při analýze příkladů v této práci.

Část nazvaná "Material and method" nabídla definice několika termínů z oblasti korpusové lingvistiky, které se budou často vyskytovat v analýze; např. překladový korpus (translation corpus), porovnávací korpus (comparable corpus), typy překladových protějšků (types of correspondence). Překladové protějšky můžou být realizované (overt) a nulové (zero). Dále pak se realizované dělí na jedna-ku-jedné (one-to-one), analytické (analytic) a syntetické (synthetic). V prvním typu má překladový protějšek stejný počet prvků jako element v originálu; v druhém typu originálu odpovídá více prvků v překladu; a konečně při třetím typu dva nebo více prvků v originálu jsou vyjádřeny menším počtem prvků v překladu. Dále pak se můžou protějšky dělit na syntakticky totožné (congruent) a syntakticky rozdílné (divergent). Tato klasifikace tvoří páteř analýzy v této práci. Ve třetí části bylo také pojednáno o nedostacích paralelních překladových korpusů a o tom, v čem tyto nedostatky tkví. Nakonec

bylo podrobně popsáno, jak byla získána primární data v této práci. Mnohajazykový korpus *InterCorp* byl zúžen na sekce čeština a angličtina. Následně byl vytvořen podkorpus složený z originálních českých beletristických textů napsaných po roce 1959 a z jejich anglických překladů. Stanovené časové ohraničení mělo zabezpečit výzkum současného užívání jazyka. Textů bylo jedenáct o společném rozsahu 578.028 slov (763.728 anglických slov) a jednalo se o romány a divadelní hry. Tyto žánry byly vybrány částečně kvůli předpokládané bohaté nabídce simulovaného rozhovoru, což by mohlo poskytnout dobré zázemí pro výskyt modálních prvků typu *snad* a *možná*. Pomocí rozhraní Park byly z *InterCorpu* excerповány všechny příklady obsahující *snad* (celkem 597) a všechny příklady obsahující *možná* (celkem 268). Pomocí programu Excel byly překladové páry zúženy na 50 náhodně vybraných příkladů pro *snad* a 50 náhodně vybraných příkladů pro *možná*. Příklady byly následně označeny kódem.

Na začátku byly všechny příklady zanalyzovány a byly určeny typy korespondencí. Typy korespondencí měly určit globální organizaci příkladů, popisů a vysvětlení v empirické části. *Snad* bylo přeloženo protějškem jedna-ku-jedné v 68% příkladů, analytických překladů bylo 14 % a nulových 9 %. *Možná* bylo překládáno jedna-ku-jedné častěji než *snad* (82 % příkladů) Nabídlo rovněž několik analytických protějšků (12 %) a jen málo nulových protějšků (6 %). Syntetické realizace *snad* a *možná* nebyly očekávány.

Nejfrekventovanější překladový protějšek jak pro *snad*, tak pro *možná* bylo anglické epistemické adverbium označující pochyby *perhaps* (11 výskytů pro *snad*, 15 výskytů odpovídající *možná*). Dále se pak vyskytovala adverbia jako *maybe*, *probably*, *possibly*. Při porovnání výskytů *possibly* a *probably* se ukázalo, že *snad* se častěji překládá jako *probably*, tj. vyjadřuje menší pochybnosti, zato *možná* se vyjadřuje častěji s *possibly*, tj. vyjadřuje větší nejistotu k pravdivosti nebo aktualizaci tvrzení.

Kontrastivní hypotéza vyjádřena v úvodu nepředpověděla dva typy významů pro *snad*, které byly nalezeny v korpusu dat. První význam zahrnoval větší prvek jistoty a byl vyjádřen

adverbii *surely* a *certainly* (*Snad to nevzdáš?* >> *You're not giving up, surely?*) V tomhle užití byly přítomny dodatečné sémantické komponenty jako evidenční význam nebo konotace pohoršení či ironie. V druhém typu významu *snad* bylo vyjádřeno anglickými stupňovacími adverbii *about* a *almost*, tedy významem nepřesnosti nebo 'o něco méně než'. V tomto významu *snad* a jeho protějšky byly zahrnuty víc do větné struktury a působily jako premodifikace: *Snad za týden po operaci [...]* >> *About a week after the operation[...]*. Ve větě fungovaly jako okolnostní adverbiale (circumstance adverbials). Tyto dva významy – jistoty a nepřesnosti – nebyly identifikované v příkladech s *možná*. Zdá se, že *možná* je stabilnějším a jednotvárnějším elementem, co se sémantiky týče.

Našly se také příklady, kdy významy *snad* a *možná* byly vyjádřeny v angličtině pomocí modálních sloves. U *snad* to bylo ve 20 % všech výskytů, u *možná* v 16 %. Modální slovesa vyjadřují různé typy modality a jsou v angličtině docela běžně používány. Tudíž tento jev nebyl překvapením. Překvapením ale bylo identifikování různých modálních významů, do kterých *snad* a *možná* vstupovaly. Dispoziční možnost neboli 'root possibility' byla vyjádřena modálním slovesem *could* a reflektovala užití jak *snad*, tak i *možná* (resp. 30 % a 12.5 % všech příkladů vyjádřených pomocí modálního slovesa). *Možná* vyjádřené pomocí sloves *may* a *might* bylo většinou zahrnuto ve významu epistemické možnost neboli 'epistemic possibility' (87.5 %). *Snad* vyjádřilo tento význam jen v 30 % výskytů, ale nabídlo taky další typ modálního významu. Pomocí *should* a *must* vyjádřilo několikrát dispoziční potřebnost neboli 'root necessity' (40 %). Realizace s modálními slovesy byla často reflektována přítomností neosobního podmětu v češtině: *Skončilo to snad domovní prohlídkou* >> *It must have ended with a house search*. Naopak protějšky vyjádřeny anglickým jednoslovným adverbium se často nacházely ve větách, kde podmět byl životný: *Možná, že ani nechtěla volat* >> *Perhaps she didn't even want to telephone*.

Analytické protějšky *snad* často fungovaly jako epistemické postojové adverbiale. Vyskytly se následující realizace: předložková fráze (*by any chance*), jmenná fráze (*no doubt*),

dvě větné vsuvky (*I suppose* a *I hope*). *No doubt* je fixní slovní spojení, které má v angličtině často charakter adverbia (Simon-Vandenberghe and Aijmer, 2008: 121). *I suppose* and *I hope* jsou rovněž ustálená spojení a fungují také jako epistemické postojové adverbiala. *By any chance* se často používá v mluveném projevu jako způsob jak zmírnit dopad a závažnost otázky či podmínky (Quirk et al., 1985: 620), např. *Did he tell her by any chance that he would be there with another woman?* Další tři výskyty nejsou postojové adverbiala. Jeden tázací dovětek s opačnou polaritou byl identifikován jako protějšek *snad*. Zpochybňoval tvrzení obsažené dřív (epistemický význam) a zvyšoval interaktivnost a pragmatickou sílu výroku. Jeden výskyt analytického překladového protějšku byl zahrnut do předmětu a vyjadřoval nepřesnost, konkrétně se jednalo o *what must have been [...] at least*. Třetí naopak fungoval na rovině promluvy jako odpověď a ukazoval taky jistou úroveň ustálenosti: *To snad ne. >> I wouldn't say that.*

U analytických překladových protějšků *možná* se vyskytl pouze jediný, který fungoval jako epistemické postojové adverbiala. Bylo to spojení *most likely*, což je příslovečná fráze a vyjadřuje pravděpodobnost. Vyskytla se taky konstrukce 'modální sloveso+*well*+sloveso *být*', jako například *Oskar po chvíli přemýšlení odpověděl, že je to možná překvapivě dobrý nápad. >> After a moment's reflection, Oskar replied that it could well be a surprisingly good idea.* Dále byla nalezena jedná záporná zjišťovací otázka *Was she not [...]?* a nakonec dvě ustálená spojení, která fungovala na úrovni promluvy (*I suppose so* a *that's as may be*). Záporná zjišťovací otázka je v angličtině příznaková, staví se proti negativnímu očekávání a vyjadřuje touhu mluvčího dostat kladnou odpověď (Biber et al., 1999: 1114). Tato otázka dokáže vyjádřit i částečný modální epistemický význam, jak bylo ukázáno na příkladu *Ostatně, možná že opravdu právě ona byla vina matčiným osudem. >> Indeed, was she not the principal culprit determining her mother's fate? I suppose so* bylo realizací jednoslovné věty "*Možná.*", která retrospektivně modalizovala předchozí výrok v dialogu. Tato realizace ještě jednou zohledňuje preference angličtiny k analytickému vyjádření.

Nulové protějšky nebyly předpovězeny v míře, ve které se vyskytly. U *snad* bylo 9 výskytů, kdy významový prvek neodkazoval na konkrétní formu v angličtině. U *možná* tyto výskyty byly tři. Dohromady dvanáct nulových protějšků ze sta poukazovalo na fakt, že angličtina dokáže modální významy vyjádřit buďto více způsoby, anebo roztržít jeden modální význam mezi víc elementů. Při nulových protějšcích byla pokaždé zpozorována částečná kompenzace v lingvistickém kontextu. Částečné obsažení významu *snad* a *možná* bylo identifikováno u těchto anglických jazykových forem: průběhový aspekt, konstrukce vyjadřující postoj *I'm afraid (that)*, prosodie (*Na to snad nepotřebuješ vodku. >> You don't need vodka for that.*) apod. V těchto příkladech se překladatel nebo překladatelka rozhodli, že realizace *snad* nebo *možná* samostatným prvkem bude pro angličtinu nežádoucí či nadbytečná.

V závěrečné páté části této práce byly shrnuty všechny získané poznatky. Bylo také poukázáno na některé nedostatky použitého postupu. Bylo nabídnuto řešení, jak by se tyto nedostatky mohly překonat. Subjektivní interpretace při analýze by se mohla kompenzovat vypracováním ankety, která by u rodilých mluvčích zkoumala jejich interpretaci významů nejen konceptuálních, ale také konotačních nebo kolokačních. Nedostatek spočívající v užití malého rozsahu textů a pouze jednosměrného postupu analýzy (české originály > anglické překlady) by se mohl překonat užitím dvou různých přístupů. Buďto metodou 'bi-directional corpus-based approach' použitou Markétou Malou v její monografii *English Copular Verbs* (2014), anebo metodou 'multi-directional corpus-based approach' známou jako 'zrcadlový projekt' a použitou norským lingvistou Helgem Dyvikem (Johansson, 2007: 30).

Appendix

Tables 13 and 14 contain one hundred examples of *snad* and *možná* translation pairs. All examples come from Czech fictional texts available through the parallel translation corpus *InterCorp*.³⁹ All examples were assigned a code—S1 to S50 for instances with *snad*, and M1 to M50 for instances with *možná*—followed by a three-letter code representing the title of the text. For instance, S1–BGB reflects a *snad* example from Michal Vieweg's *Bringing up Girls in Bohemia*. The last name of the author is given after the Czech quote. Direct speech marking—quotation marks or dashes—reflects typographical choices made in the original texts. In most of the cases, the preceding and following context is supplied in square brackets where it would clarify the meaning of the core example. Alternatively, the character [...] is used where sentences were truncated because the full version would have supplied little relevant information.

Table 13: English translation counterparts of the Czech adverb *snad*

S1–BGB	Z toho je třeba se poučit, neboť tento skutečný příběh, jehož jsem se stal šťastnou náhodou přímým účastníkem (snad zase jen spisovatel dokáže pochopit štěstí autora, jemuž v době naprosté nevíry ve smyšlené světy nadělí osud autentickou událost), není v jistém smyslu nic jiného než tučná rousnice. (Vieweg)	There is a lesson to be learnt here, because this true story – in which, by sheer chance, I became a direct participant (and perhaps yet again only a writer can appreciate the good fortune of an author who, at a moment of total disbelief in invented worlds is handed by fate an authentic event) – is, in a certain sense, no more than a fat worm.
S2–BGB	[S očima na tom byl ještě hůř než Petřík. "Koho jste oplakávali?" zeptal jsem se.] "Umřel snad Arnold Schwarzenegger?" [Vyšlo najevo, že oba hoši soutěžili, kdo vydrží déle zavřený v autě, vystříkaném předtím slzným plynem.] (Viewegh)	[His eyes were in a worse way than Petrik's. "Who have you been mourning?" I asked.] "Arnold Schwarzenegger hasn't died, has he ?" [It transpired that the two fellows had been competing to see who could last longer being shut in a car with tear-gas sprayed inside.]

³⁹ For more detailed information about the size and composition of the sub-corpus of texts, see Table 2 (p. 34). The criteria for the selection and a description of how the examples were excerpted and processed are found in Section 3.3.

S3-BGB	["Vaše lehkomyšlnost je zarážející: Co když mám v ukazovátku semtex?" Hýkali smíchy. Jiřík si trochu posmrkal sako.] Tak alespoň tyhle idioty mám snad z krku, pomyslel jsem si. (Viewegh)	["I'm amazed at your casualness. What if I had Semtex in my blackboard pointer?" They brayed with laughter. Jirík managed to sneeze some mucous onto his jacket.] Well at least I've got those idiots off my back, I hope , I thought to myself.
S4-BGB	"Není to snad to samý?" [Pokývala hlavou ze strany na stranu: "Ta věčná posedlost bavit ..." Pokrčil jsem rameny: "To je strach nenudit." (Viewegh)	"Isn't it one and the same thing?" [she nodded her head from side to side: "That constant obsession with entertainment..." I shrugged: "It's a fear of being boring."]
S5-DAW	Po jisté chvíli se přidá chór, snad i magneto-fonový záznam: zpěv přerůstá v mnohohlasý chorál. (Fischerová)	After a while the CHORUS joins in, and possibly the tape recording also. The song swells into a polyphonic chorale.
S6-DAW	[VILLON (rezignovaně): Oni mě dostali, Reň. FILIP (Moustierovi): Vy jste přímý svědek nehody? MOUSTIER: Ano. FILIP: Poznal byste útočníka? MOUSTIER: Jistě. (Ukáže na Villona): To je on. RÉGNIER:] Snad to nevzdáš? [Sakra! Řvi! VILLON: Ty už tu dlouho nejsi. Ty je neznáš, Reň. RÉGNIER: (zuřivě) Kuš! (Fischerová)	[VILLON (resignedly): They've got me, Règne. PHILIPPE (to MOUSTIER): Were you an eyewitness to the accident? MOUSTIER: I was. PHILIPPE: Would you recognise the assailant? MOUSTIER: Of course. (Pointing at VILLON.) That's him. RÉGNIER:] You're not giving up, surely ? [For heaven's sake! Let's hear you roar! VILLON: It's a long time since you were here, Règne. You don't know what they're like. RÉGNIER (incensed): Shut up!]
S7DES	Cítím, že jediným východiskem by pro mě bylo přijmout svůj pobyt tam – kdesi daleko od všech mých blízkých – s pokornou důvěrou ve vyšší vůli, která mi prostřednictvím té zkoušky dává příležitost odčinit všechny své viny - od vlažnosti až po pýchu – a jako bezejmenný šroubek jakéhosi gigantického soustrojí proměnit svůj úděl v očištnou lázeň, která jediná – pokud se mi podaří svůj pohár důstojně vypít až do dna – mi může jednou vrátit – snad – cosi z mé ztracené lidské integrity – obnovit ve mně naději – citově mě rekonstituovat – otevřít přede mnou dveře nového života. (Havel)	I have a feeling that my only way out is to accept a term there – somewhere far away from my nearest and dearest – and put my humble trust in a higher will, to give me the chance to atone for my guilt – to lose my apathy and regain my pride – and as a nameless cog in a giant machine to purify myself – thus and only thus – If I manage to drain the bitter cup with dignity – I can get back – perhaps something of my lost human integrity – renew the hope inside.
S8-DES	[LEOPOLD: Nechápu, co to znamená – proč už nechcete ten podpis? PRVNÍ CHLAPÍK: Nač takové formality? I bez toho je přece dnes už zřejmé, že to rozhodnutí bylo ve vašem případě pravděpodobně zmatečné. LEO-POLD:] Chcete tím snad říct, že já už nejsem já? [DRUHÝ CHLAPÍK: To jste řekl vy!] (Havel)	[LEOPOLD: I don't understand what it means – why don't you want my signature any more? FIRST CHAP: It would be just a formality. Who needs it? It's become pretty clear by now that in your case it would be superfluous. LEOPOLD:] Are you trying to say that I am no longer me? [SECOND CHAP: You said it, not me.]

S9-IAS	Chtěla jsem se bleskově vykoupat, vymydlit z pocitu, že na mně lpí cizí pot, a obléknout čisté prádlo (staré snad rovnou vyhodím do smetí!), jenže když jsem podruhé nastupovala do vany, zazvonil telefon znovu. (Kohout)	I wanted to take a lightning-quick bath, scour myself of the feeling that there was someone else's sweat clinging to me, put on fresh underwear. (Throw the old pair in the garbage!) When I tried to get into the tub for the second time the phone rang again.
S10-IAS	[– To tě nechal jet samotnou? – No von přeci bydlíš v Motole. Měl to blíž.] – Na objížděku přes Bubeneč snad má! [– A proč by vyhazoval prachy?] (Kohout)	["He let you go by yourself?" "He lives in Motol, Mom. It was on the way."] "He certainly has the money to swing by Bubeneč first!" ["Why waste it?"]
S11-IAS	Otevřela přede dvěma týdny a někteří dodavatelé se zpozdili (Nevěřili mi, zářila, že vždycky všecko stihnu!), ale snad mě přesto uspokojí, co by to mělo být? (Kohout)	She had opened two weeks ago and some of the suppliers were late ("They didn't believe me," she said, beaming, "when I told them I always meet my deadlines!"), but they could surely accommodate me, what would I like?
S12-IAS	Blankytnou výšeč nebe zalil jako tuš černý mrak, zablesklo se, zahřmělo (Gábička se probudila) a spustil slejvák, nahoře snad přímo obrátili vanu. (Kohout)	Black clouds hooded like ink across the blue patch of sky, lightening flashed and thunder roared (little Gabby woke up), and a downpour cascaded over us; someone upstairs must have tipped the bathtub right over.
S13-IAS	[Můj miláček se za pár dnů vrátil a zas mě blažil, takže jsem nevěru, prohlídku i bouračku prostě potlačila jako předchozí epizody.] A snad bych se byla dokonce za nějaký čas začala znova rozhlížet, s kým ho vyprovokuju příště, až zas bude nutné přiložit mu pod kotel, jenže to už se nebe nemohlo na mou prostopášnost (byťsi byla nástrojem věrné a věčné lásky) dívat a ztrestalo mě, jak jsem zasloužila. (Kohout)	[My sweetheart returned a few days later and once again adored me, so I simply repressed my infidelity, the raid, and the accident as water under the bridge.] And no doubt I would shortly have started looking around again, for someone else to provoke him with the next time I needed to bring him back under my thumb – except the heavens could no longer look upon my profligacy (whether it was the instrument of true and eternal love or not) and punished me as I deserved.
S14-IAS	[– Mluvila jsem s Josefem Benešem. – To přece vím. (Normální podiv.) – Mluvila jsem s ním znova včera odpoledne! – Aha ... co ještě chtěl? (Normální zvědavost.) – On nic. Já mu chtěla poděkovat.] – To snad bylo přehnané, napravil jen vlastní sviňárnu! [(Stejný odpor jako v sobotu.) Děkovat se dá jen tobě.] (Kohout)	["I spoke with Josef Beneš." "I know that." Normal surprise. "I spoke with him again yesterday afternoon!" "I see ... what else did he want?" Normal curiosity. "Nothing. I wanted to thank him." "That probably wasn't necessary, all he did was clean up his own mess!" The same revulsion as on Saturday. "The only person to thank is you."
S15-IAS	[Chtěla jsem tě zavolat, ale netroufla jsem si! Kvůli Vanese! (V nouzi i manželka dobrá.) Nikdy by to neměla vědět. (Jen já, tvá pravá žena!)] Víťo, myslela jsem na tebe od včera snad každou vteřinu, chápu, co tě to muselo stát. (Kohout)	[...] I wanted to call you, but I didn't dare! Because of Vanesa!" In a pinch even a wife is fair game! "She should never know!" Only I, your true wife!] "Víťo, I've been thinking about you almost every second since yesterday; I understand how it must have happened to you.

S16-IAS	<p>[– Jenomže já bych děsně rád právě s váma, víte? (Ne! On mi udělal nabídku!) A napořád. (Přímou vážnou!)] – Václave... (a já na ni snad letím nebo co, proč mu najednou říkám křestně??) přestaňte fantazírovat a počítejte, k tomu nepotřebujete kompjuťr: až vám bude padesát, budete chlap v plné míze (věštím jak Libuše), a já? [Stařenka! (Až mě samu zamrazilo.) Nečetl jste nebo neslyšel, jak takové svazky končí?] (Kohout)</p>	<p>["Except that I would rather do it with you, you see?" No! He's made me an offer! "And for good!" A real serious one!] "Václav..." And it must have me flying high or something. Why all of a sudden am I calling him by his Christian name? "Stop fantasizing and figure it out. You don't need a computer for this: when you're fifty, you 'll be in the prime of life" – I'm prophesying like our Czech foremother Libuše– ["and me? I 'll be an old biddy!" So old it chilled me. "Haven't you read or heard how marriages like that end?"]</p>
S17-IAS	<p>Skončilo to snad domovní prohlídkou, i vy dva jste prý měli být u výsledku, že, dostala jsem pocit, že právě tím přetekla jeho číse a on se rozhodl odejít. (Kohout)</p>	<p>It must have ended with a house search, you two were supposedly at the inquiry, which, I got the feeling, was the straw that broke the camel's back and made him decide to emigrate.</p>
S18-IAS	<p>A teď vám, Petro, ze sympatie vyznám, co snad žena ženě nikdy nesmí říct [...] (Kohout)</p>	<p>And now, Petra, I'm going to admit something to you – because I like you – that one woman should probably never say to another [...]</p>
S19-IAS	<p>[Nadále ovšem vycházely jeho režimní ódy, jen jednou jsem četla zrovna v našem listě verše, kterých jsem se zděsila ("Vrať se mi / kde jsi asi? / jen tvá všemohoucí ňadra / mě spasí") a v hrůze děkovala nebesům, že neznal mé celé jméno.] I tentokrát mi pomohlo tiché <i>Fuj!</i> (být u vchodu, bránila bych se snad svčcenou vodou) a brzy se mi podařilo vstoupit plně do kázání i modliteb. [Do konce mše jsem na něho zapomněla [...]] (Kohout)</p>	<p>[Of course his Party odes continued to be published. Only once did I read – in our own paper, of all places – some verses of his that described me in embarrassing detail, and in horror I thanked the heavens that he didn't know my full name.] This time, too, my quiet <i>Ugh!</i> helped (if I'd been near the entrance I could have defended myself with some holy water), and soon I managed to fully enter into the readings and prayers. [By the end of the Mass I had forgotten about him [...]]</p>
S20-IAS	<p>[–Fajn. (Nechme ho zatím při tom!) Jenže tu informaci musím mít dneska! (Zaříd' to, byls jeden z mých třinácti, co chceš víc?)] – Snad tam bude. [Kde seš? Dej mi číslo. (Dostal.) Čao, láska! Zavěsil, a teď se tedy roztíkala i moje časovaná bomba.] (Kohout)</p>	<p>["Fine." And let's leave it at that for now! "Except I need that information today!" Arrange it; you were one of my thirteen, what else do you want?] "He'll probably be there. [Where are you? Give me the number." He got it. "Ciao, love!" He hung up, and that started my time bomb ticking.]</p>
S21-IAS	<p>[Chceš tím snad říct, že je milej nebo co? - Jó, něco na ten způsob.] - Ale vždyť tě... no dobře, snad přímo neznásilnil, ale přinejmenším donutil spát s ním pár minut po tom, co jste se poznali. [Notabene v taxi!] (Kohout)</p>	<p>["Do you mean he's nice or what?" "Yeah, something like that." "But, I mean, he... Okay, so it wasn't exactly a rape, but at the least he forced you to sleep with him a couple of minutes after you'd met. In a taxi, no less!"</p>

S22-IMM	Vůbec svému jménu nerozumíme, neznáme jeho historii, a přesto ho nosíme s exaltovanou věrností, splýváme s ním, líbí se nám, jsme na ně směšně hrdi, jako bychom ho snad byli sami vymysleli ve chvíli nějaké geniální inspirace. (Kundera)	We don't understand our name at all, we don't know its history and yet we bear it with exalted fidelity, we merge with it, we like it, we are ridiculously proud of it as if we had thought it up ourselves in a moment of brilliant inspiration.
S23-IMM	[Znamená to, že má chladné srdce? Ne, se srdcem to nemá co dělat.] Ostatně nikdo snad nerozdá žebrákům tolik peněz jako ona. (Kundera)	[Did it mean that she was cold-hearted? No, it had nothing to do with the heart.] Anyway, nobody handed out as much money to beggars as she.
S24-IMM	Musím totiž zdůraznit, že ty dva roky, co se znali, s ní byl Bernard šťasten, snad mnohem šťastnější, než Laura sama mohla tušit. (Kundera)	For I must stress that during those two years of their relationship, Bernard had been completely happy with her, perhaps happier than Laura herself could possibly imagine.
S25-IMM	["A proč by tam nejela? Člověk má udělat to, co má chuť udělat." "Ale představ si," namítal Paul, "že tam najde Bernardovu milenkou! Udělá mu tam strašný skandál!"] "A on jí snad řekl, že tam bude mít s sebou jinou ženu?" ["Ne."] (Kundera)	["Why shouldn't she go there? People should always do what they feel like doing." "But just imagine," Paul objected, "if she finds Bernard's lover there! That would mean an enormous scandal!"] "Did he tell her by any chance that he would be there with another woman?" ["No."] (Kundera)
S26-JOK	[A ty jsi trockista. Proboha, jak jste na to přišli? bránil jsem se. Napsals to, nebo nenapsal?] Snad jsem něco takového z legrace napsal, vždyť už jsou to dva měsíce, nepamatuji se na to. [Můžeme ti to připomenout, řekli a četli mi mou pohlednici: Optimismus je opium lidstva. Zdravý duch páchne blbostí! Ať žije Trockij! Ludvík.] (Kundera)	[And you are a Trotskyite. For heaven's sake, what ever gave you that idea? I protested. Did you write it or did you not?] I may have written something of the kind as a joke, but that was two months ago, I don't remember. [We'll be glad to refresh your memory, they said, and read me my postcard aloud: Optimism is the opium of the people! A healthy atmosphere stinks of stupidity! Long live Trotsky! Ludvik.]
S27-JOK	Snad se o tom nepíše proto, pronesl jsem zamyšleně, že je celá věc poněkud delikátní a pohoršlivá: trpaslíci měli totiž zcela mimořádnou schopnost milostného výkonu, což byl důvod, proč byli velice vyhledáváni a proč je naše republika tajně vyvážela za tučné devizy zejména do Francie, kde si je najímaly stárnoucí kapitalistické dámy jako sluhy, aby jich ovšem ve skutečnosti zneužívaly zcela jinak. (Kundera)	Perhaps the reason no one writes about it, I said pensively, is that the whole thing is rather delicate: the male dwarfs had extraordinary sexual capacities, which was why they were so much in demand and why our Republic secretly exported them for hard currency, especially to France, where they were hired by aging capitalist ladies as servants, though obviously used for different purposes altogether.

S28-JOK	[Připadalo mi všechno nechutné a zbytečné, a protože tam nebyl ani Honza, ani Stáňa, nikdo, koho bych měl rád, padla na mne příštího dne strašlivá kocovina, která do své skepse zpětně zahrnula i příhodu před čtrnácti dny, a já jsem se zapřísahal, že už nikdy nechci mít ani holku na sedačce polního stroje, ani opilý Kandelábr...] Ozvala se snad ve mně nějaká morální zásada? (Kundera)	[It all seemed disgusting and pointless, and because neither Honza nor Stana nor anyone I liked had been there, I woke up the next morning with a hangover so fierce that the doubts it spawned retroactively included the events of the previous leave.] Had I perhaps felt the stirrings of some moral principle?
S29-JOK	Člověk hledá ve chvílích neštěstí útěchu v tom, že svůj smutek spojuje se smutkem jiných; i když je v tom snad cosi směšného, přiznám se k tomu: vyhledal jsem si Halasovy verše proto, že jsem se chtěl seznámit s někým, kdo byl také exkomunikován [...] (Kundera)	In times of distress man seeks comfort by linking his grief with the grief of others; laughable as it may sound, I confess that the reason I sought out Halas's verse was that I wanted to commune with someone else who had been excommunicated [...]
S30-JOK	Snad někdo dokonce řekne, že mé počínání mělo jediný účel: abych se v morální samolibosti nadřazoval nad ostatní. (Kundera)	Say I did it for one purpose only: to elevate myself above everyone else in my moral complacency.
S31-JOK	["Vždycky jsem toužila po člověku, který by byl prostý a přímý. Nevyumělkovaný. Jasný." Spolkli jsme doušek a já jsem řekl: "Takových lidí je málo." "Jsou," řekla Helena. "Vy jste takový." "To snad ne," řekl jsem. ["Jste." (Kundera)	["I've always yearned for a man who was... simple and direct. Unaffected. Straight-forward." We took a swig and I said, "There aren't many like that." "But they do exist," said Helena. "You're one." "I wouldn't say that ," I said. "You are."
S32-JOK	Seděla proti mně (s vyhrnutou sukní a odhalenými podvazky, připevněnými na módních černých lastexových kalhotkách) a tvář měla mírně zrudlou (alkoholem a snad i momentálním rozcitlivěním), jenomže v té chvíli se mi její zjev ztrácel za obrazem někoho jiného [...] (Kundera)	She sat across from me (with her skirt turned up and her garters attached to fashionable black stretch panties), her face still flushed (with alcohol and perhaps the emotion of the moment), but in that instant her features faded behind the image of someone else [...]
S33-JOK	["Miláčku, prosím tě," ukazovala stále na stůl a doplnila omluvně: "Nezlob se, jsem prostě šťastná, chci být šťastná..."] "Na to snad nepotřebuješ vodku," řekl jsem. ["Nezlob se, mám na ni chuť." Nedalo se nic dělat; nalil jsem jí pohárek vodky.] (Kundera)	["Please, darling." She was still pointing at the table. "Don't be angry," she added apologetically. "I'm just happy. I want to be happy...."] "You don't need vodka for that," I said. ["Don't be angry. I just feel like it." There was nothing to do but pour her a glass.]
S34-JOK	[Návrh na můj odchod z fakulty visel opravdu ve vzduchu. Ale je také pravda, že jsem měl mezi komunisty na fakultě stále dosti přátel, kteří si mne vážili pro můj předúnorový postoj.] Stačilo snad jen málo: jen to, abych se sám začal bránit - a byli by se jistě postavili za mne. [Ale já jsem to neudělal.] (Kundera)	[My proposed departure was indeed in the air. But I must also say that I had a number of friends among the Communists on the faculty and that they still respected me for my pre-February stance.] It would probably have taken very little: a move to defend myself. They would certainly have stood up for me. [But I did nothing.]

S35-JOK	[My jsme chtěli spasit svět. Ve skutečnosti jsme svým mesiášstvím svět málem zničili.] Oni ho snad svým sobectvím zachrání." (Kundera)	[We wanted to save the world. With our messianism we nearly destroyed it.] Maybe they with their selfishness will save it."
S36-JOK	[Šla jsem k vodovodu, který byl v koutě sousední místnosti, nalila jsem vodu do sklenky od hořčice a zapila dvě tablety.] Dvě, to je dost, to mi snad pomůže, ovšem od bolesti duše mi algena nepomůže, leda že bych snědla celou tubu, protože algena ve velkém množství je jed a Jindrova tuba je skoro plná, to by možná stačilo. (Kundera)	[I found a faucet in a corner of the room next door, put some water in an empty mustard jar, and took two tablets.] Two, that's enough , that should help, of course Algena can't help me with the illness of my soul, unless I swallow all the tablets in the bottle, because it's poisonous in massive doses, and Jindra's bottle is nearly full, maybe it would be enough.
S37-LAG	Po věky, snad od chvíle, kdy začali uvažovat o čase a tedy i o vlastní minulosti, lidé předpokládají, že na počátku všeho byl ráj, člověk šťastně přebýval na zemi, kde: „non galeae, non ensis erant: sine militis usu mollia securae peragebant otia gentes..." (Klíma)	Throughout the ages, probably ever since they began to reflect on time, and hence on their own past, men have assumed that at the beginning of everything there had been paradise, where humans had lived happily on earth, where: "non galeae, non enses erant: sine militis usu mollia securae peragebant otia gentes..."
S38-LAG	Když už jsem snášel snad padesátý balík, nedokázal jsem přemoci pokušení a rozvázal jsem provázky a obsah krabice jsem vysypal do nejbližší popelnice, navrch poházal něco prázdných kelímků a kuchyňského smetí ze sousední popelnice, pak jsem odjel s ostatními krámy do bytu své švagrové. (Klíma)	As I was carrying downstairs what must have been the fiftieth package at least I couldn't resist the temptation to untie the string and to tip the contents into the nearest dustbin. I covered it up with some empty paper cups and kitchen waste from the bin next to it, and drove off with the rest of the junk to my sister-in-law's flat.
S39-LAG	Snad to působilo umělé světlo, připadal mi ještě bledší, vychrtlejší, ještě nemocnější, než jak jsem ho byl zvyklý vidat [...] (Klíma)	Perhaps it was the artificial light but he seemed to me even paler, more drawn, more sick than usual.
S40-LAG	[Uprchl jsem na konec nástupiště a tam jsem vyhlížel vlak. Vyhlížel jsem jej s nadějí či s obavou, z touhy či z povinnosti? Co jsem mohl ještě očekávat, v co doufat?] Nejvýše snad v nějaký podmíněný odklad, který by prodloužil ještě o malou chvíli naši trýzeň i naši slast. (Klíma)	[I escaped to the very end of the platform and stood waiting there for the train. Was I waiting for it with hope or with fear, out of longing or out of a sense of duty? What was there left for me to wait for, what to hope for?] At the most for some conditional postponement that would briefly prolong our torment and our bliss.
S41-RJD	[Rozum! Co s ním, když nemohu dýchat. Snad už to ani nejsem já.] Skončil bych to, ale snad je k tomu třeba jakýsi ohavný talent a ten ve mně asi není. (Otčenášek)	[Sense! What's the good of sense when I can't breathe. Maybe this isn't me any more.] I'd put an end to it all, but I suppose you need some horrible kind of talent to be able to do that, and I haven't got it.

S42-RJD	[...] vypisovaly se další miliony za nicotná sdělení, která by vedla k dopadení pachatelů. Kde jsou? Existují vůbec?] Snad už jsou mrtvi a střelení nikdy nepřestane. (Otčenášek)	[...] millions and millions offered for disgraceful information leading to the arrest of those responsible. Where are they? Are they alive?] Perhaps they are already dead and the shooting will go on for ever.
S43-RJD	[A ona nic neví. Nesmí vědět, musí to sám vléci po světě, poněvadž kdyby to věděla, bylo by nebezpečí ještě větší.] Snad by se zbláznila a udělala nerozváznost. [Nikdo nesmí nic vědět!] (Otčenášek)	[And she knew nothing about it. She must not be allowed to know. He must carry the burden on his own shoulders, for if she found out the danger would be even greater.] She might lose her head and do something unwise. [Nobody must be allowed to know!]
S44-RJD	[Vklouzla do pokojíku, přibouchla dveře. Vzrušení tlačilo srdce do hrdla. Kroky přešly, na pavlači zachřestily dlaždice. Vydechla. Kdyby ji tak viděl! Umyje se a počká.] Snad přijde. (Otčenášek)	[Slipping into the room she shut the door quickly. Tension drove her heart up into her mouth. The steps passed by, rattling the loose tiles in the gallery. She breathed out. If Paul were to see her looking like that! She would have a wash and wait for him.] Perhaps he would come after all.
S45-SCA	[Nevidím nikoho. "Vítku, kde jsi?" Žádná odpověď. Přejdou kabinet, nakouknu dokonce ven do chodby. "Slyšíš, ozvi se..." Ani teď se nic nehýbe.] Snad neutekl ven, leknu se. (Stýblová)	[I couldn't see anyone. "Vítek, where are you?" No reply. I went through the ante-room and even peered out into the corridor. "Can you hear me? Answer me..." Still nothing moved.] I began to be afraid he'd run off.
S46-SCA	Jitka se k nim chovala spíš jako starší sestra. Snad to bylo proto, že měla doma několik mladších sourozenců. (Stýblová)	Jitka behaved towards them rather like an older sister, perhaps because she had had so many younger brothers and sisters at home.
S47-SCA	[Nemohu se divit, že v tom Mikeš viděl krivdu, když se s ním rozešla a krátce nato si vzala mne.] Snad za týden po operaci za mnou přišel sám do pracovny. [Ten den si velmi dobře pamatuji, protože to byl současně začátek Uzlíkova příběhu (Stýblová)]	[I simply couldn't wonder that Mikeš had felt wronged when she parted with him and married me shortly afterwards.] About a week after the operation he came to my study to see me himself. [I remember that day very well, because it was also the beginning of the Uzlík episode.]
S48-ULB	[Tomáš vypnul rádio a řekl: "Tajná policie existuje všude na světě.] Ale že vysílá své pásy v rádiu veřejně, to snad neexistuje než v Čechách! To nemá obdoby!" (Kundera)	[Tomas turned off the radio and said, 'Every country has its secret police.] But a secret police that broadcasts its tapes over the radio - there's something that could happen only in Prague, something absolutely without precedent!'
S49-ULB	[Setkání bylo vlídné, Šimon se cítil volný a vůbec nekoktal.] Snad si ani neuvědomil, že si spolu příliš nerozuměli. (Kundera)	[Their meeting was a friendly one. Simon felt relaxed and did not stammer a bit.] He probably did not realize that they did not understand each other very well.

S50-ULB	<p>[Všichni snili o tom odstěhovat se do města. Vesnice jim neposkytovala nic, co by se podobalo jen trochu zajímavému životu.] Snad právě proto, že tu nikdo nechtěl zakořenit, stát ztrácel nad vesnicí moc. [Zemědělec, kterému už nepatří půda a je jen dělníkem pracujícím na poli, nelpí ani na krajině ani na své práci, nemá co ztratit, nemá se o co bát.] (Kundera)</p>	<p>[They all dreamed of moving into town. The country offered them nothing in the way of even a minimally interesting life.] Perhaps it was the fact that no one wished to settle there that caused the state to lose its power over the countryside. [A farmer who no longer owns his own land and is merely a labourer tilling the soil forms no allegiance to either region or work; he has nothing to lose, nothing to fear for.]</p>
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Table 14: English translation counterparts of the Czech adverb *možná*

M1-BGB	<p>[Ředitel se tentokrát na ryby zřejmě nechystal, neboť měl na sobě parádní vycházkovou uniformu desátníka J . Q . Adamse.] (Napadá mne, že po tom, co jsem uvedl výše, by možná bylo dobré zdůraznit, že jde opravdu o nesmyslné jméno.) (Viewegh)</p>	<p>[Apparently the Principal was planning a fishing trip on this occasion, as he was wearing the off-duty uniform of Corporal J. Q. Adams.] (It occurs to me, after what I said above that it would be worth stressing here that this is not a fabricated name.)</p>
M2-BGB	<p>["To není dobrá otázka," řekl jsem. "Míjí jádro problému." "A jak teda zní ta správná?" řekl maličko dotčeně. Nemělo smysl se s ním hádat. "Ta správná? Co třeba Z které politické strany je ministr školství?" řekl jsem.] "Není možná úplně správná, ale určitě je přesnější." (Viewegh)</p>	<p>["That's not the right question," I said. "It evades the real issue." "So what is the right question?" he asked with a hint of pique. There was no point in arguing with him. "The right one? How about: what political party does the Minister of Education belong to?" I said.] "It might not be exactly the right one, but it's certainly more specific."</p>
M3-BGB	<p>[Ve čtvrt na osm jsem to vzdal. "Tak se měj," zařval jsem do dunění metalické psychedelie.] Možná přece jenom chtěla něco říct, protože to vzápětí vypnula - ale to už jsem scházel dolů po schodech. (Viewegh)</p>	<p>[At a quarter past seven I gave it up as a bad job. "Have a good time!" I yelled into the thunder of metallic psychedelia.] Perhaps she did want to say something after all, because she immediately switched it off – but by then I was on my way downstairs.</p>
M4-BGB	<p>"[...] Vykládali nám sice o punckejch válkách, ale přitom nás k sobě vlastně volali, ne slovama, jenom tím, že před náma prostě stáli a občas se po nás tak utahaně podívali, jako že abysme už konečně přestali hrát piškvorky a flokat modelínou a vypluli za nima, k tomu druhému břehu. - A za tohle volání bysme jim možná poděkovat měli." (Viewegh)</p>	<p>"[...] It's true they talked to us about the Punic Wars, but at the same time they were actually calling us, not in words but just by standing there in front of us and giving us weary looks from time to time, as if to say isn't it time you stopped mucking about and flicking plasticine around and sailed across to us on the other bank. – And maybe it's that calling that we ought to thank them for."</p>

M5-BGB	<p>["Zatvářil se, jako kdybych promluvil finsky, a užaslým pohledem velkého skřítka, jenž omylem zabloudil na tenisový zápas, těkal pohledem od Beáty ke mně a zase zpět." Nekecej!" řekl nakonec ohromeně. Beáta vyfoukla kouř. "Jasně," řekla mysticky. "Nějaký pětikilo, jo?" řekl vědoucň. "Takže nějaký šajny?" "Vůbec neváhej," řekla Beáta významně. Poprvé se obrátil na mě: "Nějaký pořádný šajny, co?" Krátce jsem pohlédl na Beátu, ale uhnula očima. "Jasně," řekl jsem nakonec, neboť jsem usoudil, že vyslovit nahlas slovo šajny by mi patrně dělalo obdobné potíže jako kupříkladu povel Osmá cé ke mně. Nepřestával mě zkoumat: "Šajniky šajny?" Zasvěceně pomrkal. Měl jsem toho akorát dost.] "Možná. [Možná by se to tak dalo říct," řekl jsem otráveně. (Vieweg)</p>	<p>"He made a face as if I had spoken in Finnish, and with the horrified expression of a huge goblin who had wandered into the middle of a tennis match by mistake, gazed back and forth between Beata and me. "You don't say!" he eventually said in amazement. Beata exhaled smoke. "Of course," she said mystically. "Five big smackers, eh?" he said knowingly. "So some shinies, then?" "What do you think?" Beata said pointedly. "For the first time he turned to me: "Some real shinies, eh?" I glanced briefly at Beata, but she looked away. "Of course," I said at last, judging that I would have as much difficulty saying the word shinies as I would giving the order Line up, 8C. He continued to peruse me: "Shiny shinies?" He gave a knowing wink. I had had about enough.] "I suppose so," [I said wearily. "I suppose that might be the slang expression for it."]</p>
M6-BGB	<p>[Prázdniny ale ještě neskončily a žena už chodila do práce. "Mám čtyřicet minut," říkával jsem do sluchátka zadýchaně, když dcera dopoledne odběhla za kamarádkou.] "Možná padesát." (Viewegh)</p>	<p>[However, the school holidays were not yet over, and my wife was already back at work. "I've got forty minutes," I would gasp into the phone, when my daughter popped out to see a friend.] "Possibly fifty."</p>
M7-BGB	<p>[Beáta pravila, že jediné, co ze Šrámka jakžtakž přežilo, je asi šest nebo sedm raných básní a pochopitelně Tělo - to ji prý kdysi doslova fascinovalo. Nyní se jí román sice maličko odcizil, hodlá jej ale aktualizovat coby scénické psychodrama.] Oskar po chvíli přemýšlení odvětil, že je to možná překvapivě dobrý nápad. (Viewegh)</p>	<p>[Beata declared that the only things that had more or less outlived Sramek were six or seven early poems and The Body, of course – that had literally fascinated her at one time, she said. And even though the novel had now palled on her somewhat, he was nonetheless intending to bring it up to date as a scenic psychodrama.] After a moment's reflection, Oskar replied that it could well be a surprisingly good idea.</p>
M8-BGB	<p>[On přece není žádný řidič, řekl Oskar, on jen přemýšlí, jak naložit se svým životem, - a v autě se mu prý odjakživa přemýšlelo nejlépe.] Možná odejde vysoko do hor, možná zkusí ještě studovat. (Viewegh)</p>	<p>[Oskar protested that he was no driver but was only thinking about what to do with his life – and driving had always provided him with the best opportunity for thinking.] He might go off to the Alps, or he might try returning to his studies.</p>
M9-BGB	<p>["Co jsi čekal?" usmívala se Beáta. "Strohou světničku klášterní novicky?" Vypadala dobře, ale uspokojilo mne především to, že byla schopna ironie. "Cokoli," řekl jsem upřímně.] "Možná ale spíš útulek pro opuštěné drozdy. [Nebo třídníru neekologického odpadu...]" (Viewegh)</p>	<p>["What were you expecting?" Beata smiled. "A noviciate's cell?" She was looking well, but most of all I was pleased to find her capable of irony. "Anything," I said candidly.] "But most likely a refuge for lost thrushes. [Or a screening plant for non-ecological waste...]"</p>

M10-COR	[DRUHÝ: (Vénovi) Co slečna, jak se má? (Prvnímu)] Možná sis nevším, ale má pěknou babu, chvílnku jsem ji držel [...] (Topol)	[SECOND YOUNG MAN (to VÉNA): And the young lady, how's she? (To FIRST YOUNG MAN.)] Maybe you didn't notice, but he's got a pretty good-looking granny. I had hold of her for a moment [...]
M11-DAW	[BISKUP (klidně, přemýšlivě) Mluvíte o čase, jako byste ho celý snědl.] Možná snědl - co já vím. [Ale pro mne čas není nit'. Pro mě je čas údolí před Posledním soudem a já chráním pořádek v tomto údolí.] (Fischerová)	[BISHOP (calmly, reflectively). You speak about time as if you had eaten it all up.] Maybe you have for all I know. [But for me time is not a filament. Time is a valley before the last judgement and it is my task to protect order in this valley.]
M12-DES	[LUCY: Nezlob se, ale děláš všechno pro to, aby se to nepoznalo a abys to nemusel nahlas říct – tváříš se prostě, jako by to vůbec neexistovalo. LEOPOLD:] Možná jsem skutečně v něčem víc zdrženlivý, než bych měl být, ale za to, promiň mi to, můžeš tak trochu i ty. (Havel)	[LUCY: Forgive me but you do everything you can to deny it, to make it invisible, to avoid acknowledging it, you behave as if it wasn't there. LEOPOLD:] I'm possibly more reserved about some things than I should be, but – forgive me – you're partly to blame.
M13-DES	[PRVNÍ CHLAPÍK: Ano. Jak dobře víte, hrozí vám něco nemilého, co vám osobně vůbec nepřeju a na co se, předpokládám, ani vy nijak zvlášť netěšíte. LEOPOLD:] V jistém ohledu by to možná bylo lepší, než. [DRUHÝ CHLAPÍK: Nerouhejte se, pane doktore!] (Havel)	[FIRST CHAP: Yes. As you know only too well, you're being threatened with something unpleasant which I personally wouldn't wish upon you and I don't suppose you are particularly looking forward to it yourself. LEOPOLD:] In a way it might be better than. [SECOND CHAP: Now, now, Professor, no blasphemy!]
M14-DES	[OLDA: Bylo ti úzko? (Vtom se otevrou dveře Zuzanina pokoje, stane v nich Zuzana a obrátí se na Leopolda.) ZUZANA: Že ses zase nějak zapletl? OLBRAM: Neříkám ti to jen za sebe, přicházím tak trochu jménem všech. OLDA:] Možná by sis měl vzít nějaký prášek. (Havel)	[EDWARD: Were you worried? (At that moment the door of Suzana's room opens. SUZANA is standing there speaking to LEOPOLD.) SUZANA: Are you sure you didn't get yourself into trouble again somehow? BERTRAM: I'm not just speaking for myself. EDWARD:] Perhaps you should take some pills.
M15-IAS	[Mého miláčka mi přebrala hubená dívka s krátkými a ne zrovna nejlepšími vlasy myší barvy.] Mocná soupeřka, přízrak mých osamělých nocí, kdy jsem si ho žárlivě malovala v náruči vášnivé dcery Judeje, měla silné a příliš velké kostěné brýle, které přesto nestačily zakrýt vrásky kolem očí i úst (já, o víc než deset let starší, světe žasni, skoro žádné nemám), celá tvář působila znaveně (možná taky nespala, ale nestihla se dát do pucu), což jen podtrhovaly elegantně nenápadné šaty. (Kohout)	[My lover had been lured from me by a thin girl with short mouse-brown hair of doubtful quality.] My mighty opponent, the specter of my lonely nights when I had jealously pictured Viktor in the embrace of a passionate daughter of Judea, had thick, oversized tortoiseshell glasses, which still didn't conceal the wrinkles around her eyes and mouth (I, more than ten years her senior, have miraculously few). Her whole face looked worn out (most likely she hadn't slept either, but unlike me hadn't managed to get herself all dolled up), which only underscored her casually elegant dress.

M16-IAS	[- Už večer se o mě prala zima s horkem (mé skotské střiky) a teď jsem jako moucha. - Volala jste doktora?] – Nastydla jsem se možná v tom kursu, táhlo tam. (Kohout)	["I've had a fever and chills fighting over me since last night" – from my scotch and sodas – "and now I'm as weak as a rag doll." "Have you called the doctor?"] "I probably just caught something in that class; it was drafty there."
M17-IAS	[- Zato se vám mimořádně povedlo... (Nechala jsem snímky běžet mezi prsty a zpozorněla: po sérii Majorových anfasů a profilů náhle zholá neznámé tváře.) Kdo je tohle?] – To jsem fotil každého, kdo šel dovnitř i ven, možná zbytečně, ale nevím, co vlastně sledujete, tak pro jistotu... (Kohout)	["So far you've done an exceptional job..." I let the pictures run beneath my fingers and noticed: after the series of front and side shots of the Major, suddenly a totally unfamiliar face. "Who's this?"] "I just took everyone who went in and out, maybe unnecessarily, but I don't know what you're looking for, so just in case..."
M18-IAS	[V novém obchodu na rohu naštěstí nebyli kupující. Majitel mě poznal. - Chutnalo vínko? (Dobře mi nahrál.) - Odtud chutná všechno. Kupovala jsem si tu kdysi lízátko. A často je vyžebrała.] – Možná dokonce ode mě. [Byl jsem příručí u tatínka. Jen převzetí se holt kapku pozdrželo.] (Kohout)	[Fortunately there weren't any customers in the new shop on the corner. The owner recognized me. "Did you like the wine?" A perfect lead-in. "Everything from here is good. I used to buy lollipops here at one time. And often begged them off the owner."] " Maybe even from me. [I helped out my father here. Except it was a while before I could take over the business.]"
M19-IAS	Každá ženská by s tím šla do kuchyně, jenže tam se ukrýval můj... (k zešílení!) vybírala jsem tedy skleničky jednu po druhé z proutí, a stavěla je v předsíni na lino (divila-li se, nedala nic znát, brala to možná jako domorodý obyčej). (Kohout)	Any normal woman would have taken it into the kitchen, except hiding in mine was my... (this will drive me crazy!) so I took the little glasses one by one from the wicker basket and placed them in the entry hall on the linoleum. (If she was surprised, she didn't show it; maybe she assumed it was an indigenous custom.)
M20-IMM	Goethe pokrčil rameny a řekl s jistou pýchou: "Naše knihy jsou možná v jistém smyslu nesmrtelné. [<u>Snad</u> ." Po pauze dodal tiše a s velkým důrazem: "Ale my ne." "Právě naopak," protestoval trpce Hemingway.] (Kundera)	Goethe shrugged, and said with some pride: " Perhaps our books are immortal, in a certain sense. [<u>Perhaps</u> ." He paused, and then added softly, with great emphasis: "But we aren't." "Quite the contrary," Hemingway protested bitterly.]
M21-IMM	["Takže Bernard se stal totálním oslem, protože se ti líbila Laura."] " Možná že se nemýlíš," řekl Avenarius zamyšleně a pak dodal: ["V té ženě je něco, co ji předurčuje stát se obětí. Právě to mne na ní přitahovalo. Byl jsem nadšen, když jsem ji viděl v rukou dvou ožralých, smrdutých klošářů! Nezapomenutelná chvíle!"] (Kundera)	["So Bernard became a complete ass because you liked Laura."] "You may not be wrong," Avenarius remarked thoughtfully, and added: ["There is something in that woman that preordains her to be a victim. That's just what attracted me to her. I was overjoyed when I saw her in the arms of two drunken, stinking clochards! An unforgettable moment!"]

M22-IMM	[Až bude muset totální osel oznámit ve zprávách vypuknutí atomové války anebo zemětřesení v Paříži, bude se u toho jistě snažit být vtipný.] Možná že si už od nynějška pro ty příležitosti hledá nějaký kalambúr. (Kundera)	[When that complete ass is forced to announce on his news programme that an atomic war has broken out or that Paris has been devastated by an earthquake, he will certainly try to be amusing.] Perhaps he is already preparing some witticisms for such occasions.
M23-JOK	[Mlčel jsem. Opakovala otázku. Nutila mne, abych odpověděl. Řekl jsem: "Nevím."] "Přemýšlej trochu," naléhala, " možná , že na to přijdeš." (Kundera)	[I said nothing. She repeated the question. She forced me to answer. I said: "I don't know."] "Think a little harder," she insisted. "You know the answer."
M24-JOK	[...] a jestli to Kostkovi zatajila a spolu s tím celý něžný půlrok naší lásky, pak si uchovala i vůči němu nedotknutelné tajemství, a ani on ji neznal; a pak je ovšem nejisté, zda se vůbec do tohoto města odstěhovala kvůli němu; možná se sem dostala náhodou, ale je též docela možné, že sem šla kvůli mně, vždyť věděla, že jsem tu míval domov! (Kundera)	And if she said not a word of this to Kostka, of this nor of the whole six tender months of our love, then she had kept a secret even from him, and even he did not know her; moreover, it was not clear that she had really moved to this town because of him; it could have been a mere coincidence, but it was also possible that she came here because of me, since she did after all know that it was my hometown.
M25-JOK	Možná že nevíš, jak tě miluji, určitě nevíš, jak tě miluji, <u>možná</u> si myslíš, že jsem jen panička, která hledala dobrodružství, a netušíš, že jsi mi osudem, životem, vším... (Kundera)	Maybe you don't know how much I love you, surely you don't know how much I love you, <u>maybe</u> you think I'm just another married woman looking for an adventure, and you don't understand that you're my destiny, my life, my everything...
M26-LAG	S tím mužem jsem se náhodou nedávno sešel a dobře si s ním rozuměl, tu dívku jsem nikdy nespatriil, ale jistě bychom se také shodli, že i to, co druhé zdeptá, nám ještě stále připadá jako bezvýznamná malichernost – a možná také naopak. (Klíma)	It so happens that I met that man not long ago and we got on well together; and although I've never seen that girl we would surely also agree that what crushes others is for us no more than an unimportant trifle, and the other way about.
M27-LAG	[Můj tatínek žije třeba pro práci, tak ho těšilo, když se mu podařilo nějak nově uvést do pohybu hmotu, že na nic jiného téměř nemyslel, a pro tenhle cíl se vzdal všech ostatních radostí, dokonce i spánku.] Ale možná právě proto dokázal ustrnout, když si z ničeho nic povšiml, jak vychází slunce, anebo uslyšel Schubertův kvintet. (Klíma)	[My father, for instance, lived for his work: whenever he'd managed to set some inert matter in motion he'd be so pleased he'd think of virtually nothing else, and for that goal he would give up all other pleasures and even his sleep.] But maybe just because of that he was able to be startled when he saw the sun rise or when he heard a Schubert quintet.
M28-LAG	Vždy jsem si přál dostat psaní, z něhož bych poznal, že jsem milován, a ona mi opravdu poslala, co napsala za deštivého večera anebo možná až v noci, kdy už vítr rozfoukal mraky. (Klíma)	I've always wanted to get a letter from which I could see that I was being loved, and indeed she sent me one written on a rainy evening, or maybe late at night when the wind had dispersed the clouds.

M29-LAG	[K budce se blížila stařenka.] Možná , že ani nechtěla telefonovat, ale pro jistotu jsem otevřel telefonní seznam a předstíral, že v něm hledám. (Klíma)	[An old woman was approaching the box.] Perhaps she didn't even want to telephone, but to be on the safe side I opened the directory and pretended to look for a number.
M30-LAG	Možná bych měl já jemu povědět, že v jeho zklamáních nacházím spíše naději, neboť ho ošálil jen sebevědomý rozum, který si myslel, že všechno ví a odmítal nechat místo pro nevysvětlitelné, tedy pro Boha, věčnost či vykoupení.	Maybe I should have been saying to him that, if anything, I was finding some hope in his disappointments, because he'd been misled only by a self-assured intellect which thought it knew everything and which refused to leave any room for the inexplicable, that is for God, eternity or redemption.
M31-LAG	[Sem spolu pojedeme, bylo to vnuknutí, s naprostou jistotou poznala, když kráčela strmou uličkou ke kostelu, že se sem ještě jednou vrátí, já přitom budu s ní.] Zůstaneme tam možná a zestárneme.	[This is where we'll go, the two of us together, it came to her in a flash, and as she was climbing the steep little street to the church she knew for certain that she'd be coming back here, and that I would come with her.] Maybe we shall stay there and grow old.
M32-LAG	Židovští autoři jako třeba Kafkův současník Werfel anebo později Bellow či Heller se k tématu obětního beránka vracejí s posedlostí, která je možná podvědomá, <u>možná</u> prorocká. (Klíma)	Jewish authors, such as Kafka's contemporary Werfel, or later Bellow and Heller, keep returning to the theme of the sacrificial lamb with an obsession that is possibly subconscious and <u>possibly</u> prophetic.
M33-LAG	Na palubě se bavila pestrobarevná společnost. Nevěděl jsem, co slavili, zda svatbu, narození potomka či něčí jmeniny, anebo to, že k Měsíci, který možná jejich ne tak vzdálení předci vzývali jako boha, se blížila raketa s lidmi, ale vnímal jsem, že také já v jejich blízkosti a pod vlivem jejich hudby se propadám do jiného, bezstarostnějšího, méně vědoucího času. (Klíma)	A colourful company was celebrating something, I don't know if it was a wedding, the birth of an heir or somebody's saint's day, or the fact that a manned spacecraft was then on the way to the moon which their not-too-distant ancestors may have revered as a deity, but I could feel that close to them, and under the influence of their music, I was slipping into another, more carefree and less knowing age.
M34-LAG	[Myslíš si, že si musím dát všechno líbit, že bych už druhého takového nenašla?] Možná že by opravdu nenašla druhého, kdo by s ní takhle nakládal, řekne ještě, kdo by s ní zacházel jako s pouliční holkou. (Klíma)	[You think I have to take everything from you, you think I couldn't find another man like you?] Maybe she really couldn't find another man who'd treat her the way I do, she adds, who'd treat her like a slut from the streets.
M35-RJD	[Naučila se rozeznávat krok lidí z domu, lidí, jejichž tváře neznala. Tenhle patří tlustému, dýchavičnému člověku. Nebyl to Pavlův krok, ten rozpoznala bezpečně sluchem přibroušeným věčnou netrpělivostí.] A možná že dnes nepřijde, včera to řekl. (Otčenášek)	[She had learned to distinguish the step of different people in the house, people whose faces she had never seen. This was the step of a fat man, who breathed with difficulty. It was not Paul's step, she recognised his with the certainty born of everlasting impatience.] Perhaps he would not be coming at all today, he had said something about it yesterday.

M36-RJD	[Jeden z nich se zastavil, zapaloval si cigaretu.] Byl bledý a hubený, možná že je nemocný; [na pravé ruce měl rukavici, snad pod ní schovával zranění.] (Otčenášek)	[One of them stopped to light a cigarette.] He was pale and thin, perhaps he's ill. [He had a glove on one hand, I expect he was hiding a wound.]
M37-RJD	[Lidé v domě jsou všelijací.] Možná že nejsou zlí, všichni určitě ne, ale mají strach. (Otčenášek)	[There are all kinds of people living in the house.] They may not be bad sorts, certainly they aren't all bad, but they're afraid.
M38-SCA	[Chvilí jsem se rozmýšlel.] Možná že už ji hned tak neuvidím. [Má další zkoušky a pak budou prázdniny.] (Stýblová)	[I thought things over for a moment.] Perhaps it would be a long time before I saw her again. [She had the rest of her exams to do, and then there would be the long vacation.]
M39-SCA	[Když mě uviděla, šla sama ke mně. Nikomu se to nezdálo divné.] Možná že si mysleli, že jí nabízím místo fiškusa nebo že jsme zapomněli napsat do indexu "practicavit". (Stýblová)	[When she saw me she came over to me of her own accord. No-one found that strange.] Perhaps they thought I was offering her a job as an assistant, or I had forgotten to write "practicavit" into her record book.
M40-SCA	["Někdy se člověk nemusí ptát. Prostě něco předpokládá.] Možná že vás nenapadlo, že se máte dovolit." ["Napadlo," řekl medik zavile.] (Stýblová)	["Sometimes a person doesn't have to ask.] Perhaps it just didn't occur to you that you had to have permission." ["It did occur to me," he said doggedly.]
M41-SCA	["Stejně za všechno odpovídá přednosta a lékař ve službě," hučel do něho Ruml.] " Možná , ale já to na nikoho svádět nebudu." (Stýblová)	["The head physician and the house surgeon on duty have to carry the can anyway!" shouted Ruml.] " That's as may be , but I'm not going to pass the blame on to anybody."
M42-SCA	Před dvěma lety se u nás odehrál příběh, který by mého žurnalistu zajímal možná víc než historie s teplometem. (Stýblová)	Two years ago we had an incident that might have interested my reporter perhaps more than the story of the electric radiator.
M43-SCA	[Přízrak Jitky se na mne ironicky šklebí. "A bude ti to houbeles platný! Houbeles!"] Pokračuji ve své tiché samomluvě, určené komusi neznámému, kdo možná přijde u příležitosti mého vyznamenání, vyslechne mne a konečně rozřeší všechny naše těžkosti. (Stýblová)	[Jitka's phantom reared up before me, leering ironically. "And a fat lot of good that will do you!"] I continued my silent soliloquy, levelled at that unknown person who might come on the occasion of the award of my distinction, who might hear me out and who might finally solve all our problems.
M44-SCA	[Oba rodiče zemřeli, ještě když jsem studoval. Ani sourozenci už nežijí. A přece: jak mnoho pro mne ta doba znamená!] Možná že dala právě ona mému životu pevný směr. (Stýblová)	[Neither of my parents is alive any more, they both died when I was still a student. My brothers and sisters are dead too. And yet the years I spent with them still mean so much to me.] Perhaps because they gave a firm direction to my life.

M45-ULB	[Proti oběma manželům byla bezmocná. Jediný člověk, který jí patřil a nemohl uniknout, rukojmí, který mohl platit za všechny ostatní, byla Tereza.] Ostatně možná že opravdu právě ona byla vina matčíným osudem. (Kundera)	[But she was powerless against either. The only person who belonged to her and had no means of escape, the hostage who could do penance for all the culprits, was Tereza.] Indeed, was she not the principal culprit determining her mother's fate?
M46-ULB	[Žít znamená pro Sabinu vidět. Vidění je vymezeno dvojí hranicí: silným světlem, které oslepuje, a totální tmou.] Tím je možná určena Sabinina nechuť k jakémukoli extremismu. [Extrémy znamenají hranici, za níž končí život, a vášně extremismu, v umění i v politice, je zastřená touha po smrti.] (Kundera)	[Living for Sabina meant seeing. Seeing is limited by two borders: strong light, which blinds, and total darkness.] Perhaps that was what motivated Sabina's distaste for all extremism. [Extremes mean borders beyond which life ends, and a passion for extremism, in art and in politics, is a veiled longing for death.]
M47-ULB	[Inženýr se pak vrátil. Ale bez kávy! Znovu a znovu se k té situaci vracela: Když odešel pro kávu, jak dlouho byl pryč?] Jistě nejméně minutu, možná dvě, <u>snad</u> tři. (Kundera)	[Then the engineer came back. But without the coffee! Again and again she returned to that situation: how long was he away when he went for the coffee?] Surely a minute at the least. Maybe two or <u>even</u> three.
M48-ULB	[Přišel za primářem a oznámil mu, že nic nenapiše. Primář mu stiskl ruku mnohem silněji než jindy a řekl, že jeho rozhodnutí předvídal.] Tomáš řekl: "Pane primáři, možná že byste mne tu mohli udržet i bez takového prohlášení," a chtěl mu tím naznačit, že by stačilo, aby všichni jeho kolegové pohrozili, že podají výpověď, když bude musit Tomáš odejít. (Kundera)	[He went to the chief surgeon and told him he would not write a word. The chief surgeon shook his hand with greater energy than usual and said that he had anticipated Tomas's decision.] " Perhaps you can find a way to keep me on even without a statement," said Tomas, trying to hint that a threat by all his colleagues to resign upon his dismissal would suffice.
M49-ULB	Už se smířil s tím, že v příštích vteřinách udělá něco, co je možná ušlechtilé ale určitě úplně zbytečné (protože to politickým vězňům nepomůže) a jemu osobně nepříjemné (protože se to děje za okolností, které mu vnutili). [Syn ještě řekl (skoro prosebně): "Je to tvoje povinnost to podepsat!"] (Kundera)	In the next few moments he would do something possibly noble but certainly, and totally, useless (because it would not help the political prisoners) and unpleasant to himself (because it took place under conditions the two of them had imposed on him). ["It's your duty to sign," his son added, almost pleading.]

M50-ULB	<p>[O několik dnů později ho napadla tato myšlenka, kterou zaznamenávám jako dodatek k předchozí kapitole: Ve vesmíru existuje planeta, kde se všichni lidé narodí podruhé. Budou si přitom plně vědomi svého života stráveného na Zemi, všech zkušeností, které tam nabyli. A existuje možná další planeta, kde se všichni narodíme potřetí se zkušeností obou předchozích životů.] A možná existují ještě další a další planety, kde se bude rodit lidstvo vždycky o jeden stupeň (o jeden život) zralejší. [To je Tomášova verze věčného návratu.] (Kundera)</p>	<p>[Several days later, he was struck by another thought, which I record here as an addendum to the preceding chapter: Somewhere out in space there was a planet where all people would be born again. They would be fully aware of the life they had spent on earth and of all the experience they had amassed here. And perhaps there was still another planet, where we would all be born a third time with the experience of our first two lives.] And perhaps there were yet more and more planets, where mankind would be born one degree (one life) more mature. [That was Tomas's version of eternal return.]</p>
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